THE

PATRIOT;

OR

POLITICAL ESSAYS:

BY

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Diu multumque dubitavi, an hos libellos, qui mihi subito calore, et quadam festinandi voluptate fluxerant cum singuli de sinu meo prodiissent, congregatos ipse dimitterem. Quid enim oportet hujus quoque authoritate editionis onerari?

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1793.

TO THE

RIGHT HONble. EDMUND BURKE,

DEAR SIR,

IT is highly pleaſing to me, that, in inſcribing the following Eſſays to your name, I can boaſt of their having been honoured with your approbation. Yet, though there lurk ſome intoxicating qualities in your praiſe, I am not ſo deluded, as to entertain a doubt that you will think the work improved, by thoſe ornaments, called lituræ, *which are ſcattered, and not ſparingly, over this edition.*

It would, at no time, have been improper in the Patriot, *or Man of letters, to ſelect you, for his Patron, when you once had reached that eminence, which enables to patronize: but here, the caſe is ſtronger: for, conſidering the tendency of the following pages; the recent criſis of publick affairs; and the nature, and object of your late excellent publications; I ſhould be almoſt culpable in becoming client to any other. Let me add, that one who riſks his popularity, by ſtudying to deſerve it, has ſome pretence for claiming your protection.*

Thoſe prerogatives which you enjoy, in the COMMONWEALTH of letters, *and which impower you to give protection, where you think it is deſerved, might, perhaps, be inſtanced, as a farther proof that republicks are but forms, which maſk the dominion of a few; or ſole authority of one. But herein it excells all ſimilar conſtitutions, that literary merit is what leads to literary greatneſs. So at leaſt it has befallen, in the caſe of Mr. Burke; nor are his honours confined to the domains of literature.*

I am Dear Sir,
with very great reſpect,
your obliged, humble Servant,
WILLIAM SMITH.

Dublin, June 28th, 1793.

CON-

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THE

THE

PATRIOT.

NUMBER I.*

.....

SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1792.

.....

———*Progreſſus primo, exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto ſpecularetur hoſtem, per occaſionem etiam paucos occidit.*

LIV: lib: 22. c. 15.

BY the number of publications that have ſprung up ſince the late tempeſts in France, I am reminded of a notion which prevailed amongſt the Ancients, that thunder-ſtorms occaſion large crops of Muſhrooms.† In both caſes there is ſtupendouſneſs of cauſe, and punineſs of effect; whilſt a playful Fancy, purſuing the alluſion, finds that Muſhrooms are haſty productions of a clod: that they are crude, and of ſlimſy contexture; and have heretofore furniſhed a vehicle, for conveying poiſon to Princes.‡

* To the Printer of the Freeman's Journal.

† Juvenal, Satyr 5th l. 117.

‡ The Emperor Claudius was poiſoned in a diſh of Muſhrooms.

Two or three of thoſe funguſſes, thus ſtarting from the rankneſs of vulgar patriotiſm, have attracted my notice; and provoked this letter: it ſhall be followed by others, if you think proper to inſert it, and is in the mean time to be conſidered as merely prefatory.

Who am I? That I ſhall not reveal: What am I? a *Patriot*; If Johnſon's definition be a juſt one; for I love my country. But if the idea is to be derived from the tenets of thoſe ſocieties, which are ſwarming round us, I muſt fairly wave all pretenſions to the title.

I am not one of thoſe, who finding adequate exerciſe for their robuſter malice, within the circle of private connexion, ſend their languid philanthropy to look abroad for vigour; and ranging the remoteneſs of public calamity, to ſeek that appetite for doing good, which misfortune found at home was not able to excite.

I do not quit the clearneſs of domeſtick duties, to plunge into the darkneſs of civil obligations: I do not neglect my family, to ſerve my country.

I do not vary practical ſelfiſhneſs with ſpeculative benevolence; nor ſolace with patriotiſm the intervals of debauch.

I do not think private baſeneſs the firſt requiſite to publick virtue; but, on the contrary, regard diſſoluteneſs as the epitome of diſorder; and can magnify the minuteneſs of domeſtick excellence, to the vaſt ſublimity of public worth.

To

To roll ſmoothly round the axis of private obligation, is the firſt aid we owe to the harmony of the public machine. My faculties cannot therefore exalt a knave to a patriot; nor diſtort a good man to a bad citizen.—But to return to the inſtigators of my preſent letter.

It is ſaid, in a pamphlet which I have lately ſeen, that "it is not from the wealthy, attached to their preſent enjoyment, that commotion is to be apprehended. It is not from the induſtrious; a ſingle year of anarchy muſt prove fatal to their competence; it is not from the poor," &c. &c.

Now, though readers may be naturally tempted to wonder how public tranquillity has ever been diſturbed; or whence tumults have ariſen, which cannot originate from any of the claſſes that compoſe a ſtate;—yet I doubt if the aſſertion be ſo falſe as it appears: I doubt if commotion is ſo juſtly to be feared from any of thoſe quarters, which this author has deſcribed, as from another claſs of men, which he has forgotten to enumerate; who hold a middle place between the induſtrious and the rabble; and vibrate betwixt the oppoſites of reſtleſſneſs and ſloth:—they are a politer ſort of mob. In this quarter muſt you look for the ſeditious efforts of modern patriotiſm.

Here you ſhall find a Forcing-houſe where the whimſical varieties of inexperienced greenneſs grow and flouriſh: where idle turbulence bloſſoms into faction; and knits in fruits, which our political climate forbids to ripen; and by its wholeſome coolneſs, checks in their advancement to the full maturity of havock, and rebellion.

Uncertain as I am whether this prefatory letter will obtain admiſſion to your paper, I ſhall conclude more abruptly than I otherwiſe might, —with ſaying that it depends on your ideas of publick virtue, whether you will allow *my* claim to the title of

A PATRIOT.

NUMBER II.

.....

SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1792.

.....

" *Minime mirum eſt, communicata cum his re-*
" *publica, fideles eſſe, qui, etiam expertes ejus, fidem*
" *ſuam ſemper præſtiterunt.*"

CONSIDERING the preſent ſituation of this country, I know of no more material ingredient in a man's politick's, than his opinion on what is called the Roman Catholick queſtion :—I ſhall therefore proceed to give you mine.

The paſſage from Cicero, which I have choſen for my motto, is an inlet to my ſentiments. That great man thought that advantages produced attachment : that to communicate benefits was to promote loyalty.

That I ſhould agree with Cicero none will be ſurpriſed ; nor can any deny that his abſtract reaſoning is here applicable ; but, like every thing abſtract, it is only to a certain degree, it will apply. For, theoretick truth will not always bear upon

upon thoſe caſes that appear to be within it's influence: their circumſtances intervene; and obſtruct it's operation.

Cicero was aware of this; and therefore to the abſtract principle he added the experienced diſpoſitions to fidelity, of thoſe people, to whom new privileges were extended. *Minime mirum eſt, communicata cum his republica, fideles eſſe, qui etiam expertes ejus, fidem ſuam ſemper præſtiterunt.*

Thus, conſiſting as it does of blended principle and fact—does not the reaſoning of Cicero apply to the caſe of the Roman Catholicks in this country? When examined, it will be found drawn from political expediency; and it is from ſuch a rational, and wholeſome ſource, that I would derive all arguments in their favour. Cicero built none of his concluſions on Rights of Man: —nor do I. He, in his higher ſphere of connexion, left ſuch doctrines to Mark Anthony; and I, in my obſcurity, reſign them to Thomas Paine.

It has, therefore, been with grief that I perceived the mild hopes of the Roman Catholicks, cheered by the mad cries of the ſeditious: that I ſaw deſigning Atheiſm, with malignant policy, extending the hand to ſuffering Chriſtianity;—and found the beſeechings of ſubjects for privileges of citizens, drowned in the claims of rebels, for Rights of Men. I am a friend to Catholicks, but I am a friend to order; I am a friend to Catholicks, but I am a friend to the conſtitution; I am a friend to Catholicks, but I am a friend to religion.

I re-

I rejoice at the extenſion of privilege which they have obtained; and hope to ſee their privileges yet farther extended: but I qualify my hopes, and ſtill more my expreſſions, with deference to that Legiſlature, the invaſion of whoſe privilege is the ſurrender of my own.

I am united to the Catholicks by the bonds of religion: (contraſted with *irreligion:)* for though I am not of their church; we yet are but varieties, alike belonging to the ſublime claſs of Chriſtianity. That I ſhould be their friend, is therefore to be accounted for, on principles compatible with religion and good order. The policy ſeems obvious, which ſhould unite two brother Chriſtians, to oppoſe a ſtronger barrier to the irruptions of infidelity; but what ſhould unite the Atheiſt with the Catholick? What, but a cement form'd of miſchievous intentions, which, having firſt produced a temporary coherence, will ſoon explode, with ruinous diſunion!

Acquainted, with the advantages of our excellent conſtitution, I would ſhare them as extenſively as is compatible with its ſafety; I therefore mean to conſider the queſtion of a conceſſion of privilege to the Roman Catholicks, upon the grounds of its expediency, with reference to the complete ſecurity of the State.

Some of the facts, from whence the inference of expediency ariſes, are the following.

The numbers of the Roman Catholicks: their ſhare of national property: the political tendency

tendency of their religious ſyſtem; and, their apparent diſpoſitions to order, or the contrary, as collected from their paſt *and preſent* conduct.

Firſt, Upon their numbers they ſhould not be fond to dwell: the circumſtance taken alone, proves only this; that every benefit which can with ſafety, ought to be extended to ſo numerous a body. And if it be qualified with the further hypotheſis, of their unfriendlineſs to the preſent eſtabliſhment, it becomes an argument ſubverſive of their claims. If the boaſt of numbers concealed a threat of violence, I ſhould obſerve, that the compariſon, which, in the larger body, excites importunate audacity, ſhould be productive of cautious fortitude, in the ſmaller.

No doubt thoſe civil benefits ſhould be ſcattered widely, for the attainment of which, ſociety was formed: but this general principle of wiſe benevolence is not applicable to a caſe, where the more numerous body in a ſtate is ſuſpected of diſaffection.

Whilſt men ſtand indifferent, their affections ſhould be courted, by conceſſion of benefits, to preſent eſtabliſhments: *id firmiſſimum longe imperium eſt, quo obedientes gaudent.* * But having once aſcertained the diſloyalty of ſubjects, you ſhould not give them privileges, which amount to powers of diſturbing that State, to which they are diſaffected. I ſay ſuch privileges as amount to powers; for I admit that, even in caſes of aſcertained diſloyalty—it may be prudent to beſtow privileges upon the diſaffected. It will be juſtice ſo to do, where

* Livy.

where diſaffection has been provoked by a proſcription from civil benefits;—but this extenſion muſt be gradual and cautious.

We *have* already conceded privileges to the Catholicks. The preſent queſtion regards the meaſure of our conceſſions.

I ſay, then to my Roman Catholick countrymen, that ſuperiority of number is bad ground whereon to ſtand. Alone it is inſufficient to ſupport their claims: add that they are well affected, and its aid is hardly neceſſary: ſuppoſe them to be diſloyal, and their numbers make againſt them.

For, ſuffer me to repeat, that if in the firſt inſtance, political inſtitutions ſhould aim at ſecuring the attachment of all bodies, by the liberal gift of benefits to each; yet ſuppoſe any of thoſe bodies already hoſtile, and there will be every reaſon for proſcribing them, under the reſtrictions I have above pointed out.

For, their hoſtility was all we had originally to fear, or, by the conceſſion of advantages, had intended to prevent. Now that they have declared war, we are to conſult our own ſecurity, by ſhutting the gates of our conſtitution. We ought ſtill, perhaps, to leave our diſſentient countrymen in the enjoyment of every benefit that is extrinſick to the Government; but political privileges are powerful weapons; and muſt not be put into the hands of enemies.

I am next to conſider the ſhare which Roman Catholicks have of national property, and dignities,

ties, amongſt them. And in this reſpect, the ground they ſtand upon is firm. From their rank and wealth in the country, as from a commanding eminence, they can point out to the Legiſlature various grounds of expediency, which ſhould produce them an increaſe of political privileges.

Here the wiſdom of the Legiſlature merits praiſe; which has given them landed intereſt, as a foundation for further privilege. We have let them ſettle and improve in the out-ſkirts of our conſtitution, till by ſafe degrees they may become citizens with ourſelves. They are not a ſet of mendicant diſturbers, who have daggers wrapt in their petitions for civil liberty; whoſe patriotiſm is a precipitation from their poverty and turbulence; with whom Rights of Men are the war-hoop that leads to plunder and to carnage. They are mingled into the ſeveral orders of the State; and individuals amongſt them have thus acquired intereſts, if not diſtinct from thoſe of their perſuaſion, at leaſt connected with thoſe of our eſtabliſhment. They have their hierarchy* and peerage; their landed and monied intereſts; the patronage of wealth, and clientele of poverty; all powerful ties upon their loyalty.—They have in ſhort that ſyſtem of ſubordination, and wholeſome circulation of dependency amongſt them, which prevents inteſtine fevers, promotes good order, and connects their body intimately with

* "No Biſhop, no King" is an old maxim, whoſe application in favour of the R. C. claims, is ſomewhat checked by their admiſſion of the Pope's ſupremacy in ſpirituals.

ours:

ours: which ſeparates the intereſts of Catholick individuals from thoſe of their *religion*—and binds them up with thoſe of their *rank*.

This ſcale of rank and fortune amongſt the Catholicks, analogous to that which is found amongſt ourſelves, is, in my mind, highly favourable to their claims: it eſtabliſhes a natural connexion betwixt us.

Mens' ſentiments towards each other are more influenced by thoſe relations, which worldly purſuits create between them, than by any difference, or conformity, in their religious opinions. The obſcure Catholick will be apter to remember with envy, that his ſplendid neighbour is a Peer, than to dwell, with complacency, on the ſameneſs of their faith. The tradeſman will forget that his rival is a Catholick; and in the neighbouring Proteſtant, will ſee only a cuſtomer. To this there may be exceptions; but the rule is generally true: thus in the Catholick body there is a conformity of ſubordination, that connects its members reſpectively with us: there is a mutual repulſion of individual intereſts, that will prevent (I hope) the cement of religious prejudice from forming a maſs, to cruſh or even threaten Proteſtantiſm.

3dly. With regard to the tendency of their religious ſyſtem, let me obſerve, that it is the hierarchy, which principally connects our Church and State; and therefore, that Roman Catholicks do *politically deſerve* to be ſingled out for favour, from the other Diſſenters from the Church Eſtabliſhed,

bliſhed, whoſe clerical democracies ſuit ſo ill with the principles of mixture, and ſubordination, that pervade our valuable conſtitution. Thus, Hume the Hiſtorian, though native of a ſoil, where epiſcopacy does not flouriſh, allows that the maxim of "no Biſhop, no King," is not intirely without foundation; and attributing to the puritanical clergy a violent turn towards republicaniſm, he conſiders ſuch principles as allied to their religion; and ſays further of thoſe Sectaries, that "being moſtly perſons of low birth, "and mean education, the ſame lofty preten-"ſions which attended them in their familiar "addreſſes to their maker, induced them to uſe "the utmoſt freedoms with their earthly Sove-"reign." *

By having an hierarchy then, the Roman Catholicks deſerve our favour; though the ſubordination of their Clergy to a foreign power muſt be confeſſed to weaken this ground of claim: yet any formidable conſequences, likely to enſue from ſo faulty a tenet, I cannot for my part, eaſily foreſee. The reign of religious ſuperſtition is no more; (in France it has been ſucceeded by political fanaticiſm:) and as I truſt the Catholicks will never be able, nor willing to diſturb this riſing country; nor conſequently make a pretext of this dogma in their religion, when prompted in reality by other views; ſo I am certain that they will not *bona fide*, ſacrifice their civil intereſts to their ſpiritual allegiance to the Biſhop of Rome.—But that I am writing in their

* Hiſt. Engl. c. 45.

favour,

favour, I might call in aid of my aſſertion, their late flirtation with the Preſbyterians of the North.

But 4thly, the good conduct of the Roman Catholicks, ariſing partly, perhaps, from cauſes that are noticed in this letter, gives the ſtrongeſt and moſt pleaſing claim upon our kindneſs. Yet I preſume not to ſay, that the Legiſlature has been too ſparing of indulgence. On the contrary, I repeat, that in caſes ſimilar to the preſent, it is prudent to convey an intereſt, that ſhall produce a contented fondneſs for the conſtitution, before you beſtow a privilege that might enable to diſturb it.

Where the quiet of an empire, and the permanency of a wiſe eſtabliſhment are at ſtake, no caution can be exceſſive.

And caution dictates that we ſhould raiſe attachment by the conceſſion of benefits, and cheriſh its growth by the conceſſion of powers.

I hold, then, in general, that Roman Catholicks deſerve our favour. The extent of our conceſſions I leave the Legiſlature to define. I will not pronounce that they have had enough; indeed, I hope to ſee them obtain more. But enough they have had to excite their gratitude; and a contented thankfulneſs for what has been beſtowed is the ſureſt proof that they are entitled to receive more.

Upon themſelves depends the enabling us to beſtow on them the more valuable, and intimate privileges

privileges of our conſtitution; and juſtifying our conceſſions, upon the large, and benevolent principles of political expediency, to ſay with Cicero, whilſt we enrol them amongſt our citizens, *minime mirum eſt, communicata cum his republica, fideles eſſe— qui etiam expertes ejus fidem ſuam ſemper præſtiterunt.*

NUMBER III.

.....

SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1792.

.....

Ea eſt, in re, prava pervicacia: ipſi fidem vocant.
TACITUS.

SOME late occurrences have ſuggeſted the ſubject of my preſent letter; in which I mean to examine the nature of that *Conſiſtency*, at which men ſhould aim, or of which they may be proud. If years, attended by experience, and habits of reflection, lead to wiſdom, it is not by the path of youthful folly. He, therefore, who, in age, goes limping along the road, into which early inexperience chanced to thruſt him, as he ſtumbles on new follies, or plunges in new crimes, may ſhout that "*he is conſiſtent*;" he ſhall have no praiſe from me.

When the line which you have taken is a wrong one, if you do not deviate, you will not improve; and therefore, to perſiſt is not always to be conſiſtent, or elſe to be conſiſtent does not always merit praiſe. If my poſitions ſhould appear

pear to be more obvious than they are neceſſary, to be more eaſily acquieſed in, than applied; I anſwer, that to judge from the conduct of ſome men, we ſhould ſuppoſe they thought conſiſtency intrinſically meritorious;—without regard to the acts which it concern;—and as to the obviouſneſs of any maxims, we more frequently need to be reminded, than informed.

Mr. Pitt has been lately taxed with inconſiſtency: * Perhaps juſtly; perhaps not: I care not; except as he is connected with public welfare; and but uſe him as an inſtance to illuſtrate my opinions: conformably to which, I muſt pronounce, that the facts found againſt him do not aſcertain his guilt. According to the quality of thoſe meaſures which he has deſerted, his deſertion, (call it by what name you will) is deſerving ofour cenſure, or entitled to our praiſe.

To warmth and youth, to enterprize and inexperience, things will not appear in the ſame point of view, in which they are beheld by coolneſs and maturity, by ſatisfied ambition, and acquired experience. Times may be ſo altered, that conſiſtency of motive will be ſhewn by change of conduct. The quality of actions, diſtinctly, muſt be aſcertained, before we ſettle claims which are founded on coherency.

The indiſcriminate purſuit of conſiſtency is dangerous. It impedes improvement. Men dare not to inveſtigate or relinquiſh any meaſures, leſt

* In forſaking ſome meaſures towards parliamentary *reform*, on which when a young man he was warmly intent,

of

by acting rightly, they might act inconſiſtently:—(as if rectitude was diſpenſed with, in favour of perſeverance; or that he who earns blame by doing wrong to day, ſhall merit praiſe by perſiſting in the wrong to morrow.) You ſhall ſee ſuch men ſwallowing inconſiſtency of *principle*, in order to preſerve conſiſtency of *conduct*. You ſhall ſee them leaping over the truth which obſtructs their way, to land ſafely on the falſehood which lies at the other ſide. No matter what their object is.—Their claims to praiſe are founded on their obſtinacy.

But to return:—Young minds are often overheated in purſuit of an object they deſire—be it liberty, or what elſe it may. Should they thus be betrayed to the adoption of any imprudent meaſure, or the publication of any miſtaken notion, muſt they forego all advantages of further experience, coolneſs, or deliberation? Muſt their early errors be their future models? And the follies of their youth, be the guides of their old age? Or muſt they elſe be condemned to forfeit all title to conſiſtency?

"Yes," ſay thoſe, whoſe opinions I would controvert:--but let us turn from this new-fangled quality, to that conſiſtency which is truly honourable:--that union of private worth with public virtue, of which I treated in a former paper:—That regulation of our actions, and correction of our errors, by the ſtandard of good ſenſe, and conſciouſneſs, within us:—that harmonious order, in which the public and domeſtic character revolve round a common centre of wiſdom and

of virtue. This is that conſiſtency which all ſhould aim at, and none can attain; for its attainment would be perfection.

When I ſee men, whoſe *private* life is an odious checquer work of flattery to thoſe above, and oppreſſion of thoſe beneath them, join the chorus of ſocieties, whoſe buſineſs is to groan over the pictured miſeries of their poorer countrymen; and to demand for the vulgar, that boiſterous licence, which they have thought fit to decorate with the name of freedom, I am tempted to call ſuch conduct *inconſiſtent*: doubtleſs it would be ſo, if the cries of theſe political free-thinkers were ſincere; but while I look upon ſuch gangs, as the mere hirelings of ſedition, and their cries to be no more connected with real feeling, than the howlings which purſue an Iriſh burying, I doubt, if I be not haſty, in accuſing them of inconſiſtency. Their public conduct ſhould be virtuous, to be inconſiſtent with their private conduct, which is baſe.

Yet while I am contending againſt the ſacrifice of actual *goodneſs*, to imaginary *conſiſtency*; and though I muſt confeſs that a continuance of approbation towards Mr. Paine, can ariſe only from that obſtinate conſiſtency, which I condemn, yet I will avow my diſguſt at the treachery, with which his former abettors, and partiſans are, now, withdrawing themſelves from this falling tribune.

Thoſe whom I have heard, not many months ago, loud and zealous in their praiſe of his principles,

ciples, and writings, are now " *dark to him, and ſilent.*" Where is their conſiſtency? And why this change? Becauſe the train which he laid, will not communicate with the conſtitution; and they would not be involved in the odium of ineffectual, and detected treaſon. But we have not forgotten their teſtimonies in his favour. Pamphlets ſhall flit from the obſcurity of their ſnuff-ſhops, to reproach their authors with deſertion of principle. From comfits, and from raiſins, they ſhall call out vengeance, for violated conſiſtency, and injured Paine.

And what can theſe reply?—but that baſeneſs being ſtill their principle of action—to deſert a friend is to act conſiſtently!

My notions on the ſubject are different from theirs; but leſt you ſhould ſuppoſe me of the ſect of Academicks, who oppugnd the doctrines of others, without declaring their own, I ſhall ſay, that we muſt inveſtigate the motives, which produced his conduct, who calls to us for praiſe, on the ſcore of his *conſiſtency*: the quality is indifferent, unleſs with reference to the merit of thoſe acts, which it concerns. For who ſhall applaud that fatal *conſiſtency*, which draws out ſudden raſhneſs, or accidental error—to deliberate folly, or habitual baſeneſs?—or who can deny that the conſiſtency, which links one good action to another, making virtuous conduct propagate itſelf, is deſerving of praiſe—even to admiration?

NUMBER IV.

.....

SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1792.

.....

——Velut ſylvis, ubi paſſim
Palantes error certo de tramite pellit;
Ille ſiniſtrorſum, hic dextrorſum abit: unus utrique
Error, ſed variis illudit partibus.

HOR.

LIBERTY Manufacturers were always remarkable for their riotous diſpoſitions: nor have thoſe whom I now deſignate by that name, departed from ancient uſage; but irritated by our neglect of certain homely doctrines, the beſt their haſty ignorance could ſupply, ſally forth to deſtroy thoſe well wrought politicks, which we have imported from the wiſdom of ages,—the example of hiſtory,—and the conſtitution of England. Nay, the *cry* has been tranſmitted, from clamorous weavers, to clamorous politicians; and now, as of old, at the ſhout of "hey for the Liberty" *—

* The cry of the weavers, when running through the ſtreets to cut muſlins, &c.

we

we expect a riot, and hurry to avoid the approaching diſturbance.

If I have twirl'd this thought to a conceit, at leaſt, I have been laughing on the ſide of truth; for I hold it to be no leſs true, than ludicrous, that the claſſes which I have parallel'd, are, in fact, not diſſimilar.

Reſtleſs, and diſorderly, from idleneſs, and meanneſs; moveable, and zealous, from levity, and ignorance:—poſſeſſed with an indolence, which, ſhunning the toils, yet, covets, nothing leſs, the attainments of induſtry; this I apprehend to be their *common character*;—whilſt weaver, or politician, is an *accidental difference*, ariſing from their various lines of life; according to which, they are at war with conſtitutions, or with calicos; with preſent modes of dreſs, or preſent forms of Government.

Indeed I obſerve that the *manufacturers of civil liberty* are, almoſt to a man, of humble origin:—who coming forward as they do, to new model the commonwealth, and inſtruct us in the genuine principles of freedom, warrant us (ſuch, at leaſt, was Horace's opinion) in making inquiry into their pedigree.

——*Qui promittit cives, urbem ſibi curæ,*
Imperium fore, et Italaim, et delubra Deorum,
Quo patre ſit natus, num ignota matre inhoneſtus,
Omnes mortales curare, et quærere, cogit.

Beſides,

Beſides, ſince rags have been known to breed faction, in the ſame manner as rotteneſs generates worms, this lowlineſs brings them within a ſuſpected claſs; and it is, therefore, material, that their countrymen be apprized of it: it goes to their credit: otherwiſe than thus, it is not, perhaps, diſgraceful.

" *Pater tibi ſit Therſites,—dummodo tu ſis*
" *Æacidæ ſimilis.*"

But, neither may it be unuſeful to themſelves, to adminiſter this wholeſome ſuggeſtion of their meanneſs. The memory of their extraction will aid them to throw up that vanity, which now diſtends them, and excites a falſe appetite, for more fame than they can bear. *Praiſe* is ſtronger food than he imagined, who haſtily contraſted it with " *ſolid pudding*;" and thoſe are powerful talents, which digeſt it: on weak minds it reſts an oppreſſive load; and quickly ſours to contempt, and ridicule.

For making of *mock patriots*, the receipt is neither difficult, nor tedious. Take the firſt homely boy you meet, whoſe countenance glitters with dull vivacity: be ſure that his conceptions are mean, and his diſpoſitions ſelfiſh: his ſentiments coarſe, his habits vulgar, and his ignorance preſumptuous. See that he poſſeſſes that obſequious impudence not, (I fear,) uncommon with our countrymen; nor of which one riſques the loſs by a journey into Scotland. Send him thither: let him take a haſty ſnack of ſcience, literature, and metaphyſicks, at three ſwallows.

Thence

Thence to Paris, to ſtudy Religion under Condorcet, * and Government under Cardo: †— whence, lo! he ſhall return to his longing country, to ſnatch the manifold honours, which await him. A graduate in deiſm, he is prepared to enter on the profeſſorſhip of tumult; and to dignify his office with the title of *a Patriot.*

Some indeed there are, whom this deſcription will not ſuit: who, moving in the loftier circles of diſtinction, are not aſhamed to animate the fierceneſs of the factious: traitors to their rank, for the advancement of their power; and traitors to their King, for the ruin of their country. To theſe I ſhall apply the words of a wiſer man than myſelf; extracted from a letter with which he lately honoured me, and deſcriptive of their motives, their conduct, and its conſequences.— "The diſcharge of peccant matter muſt have its "courſe; and will continue as long, I am afraid, "as the diſeaſe, from whence it proceeds, has "matter to feed it: I mean the ambition of cer-"tain deſcriptions of men, to diſtract that ſociety, "in which, tho' they are not without their pro-"per ſhare of attention, *they think they do not* "*poſſeſs all the importance, to which they are* "*entitled.*" ‡

* The extent of whoſe attachment to chriſtianity is well known.—Indeed quære, whether a Secretary to the French academy be not an Atheiſt, ex officio?

† Ci-devant dancing-maſter, now a legiſlator, and as well qualified as the beſt of them, *pedibus in ſententiam ire.*

‡ See alſo upon this ſubject p. 68 and 69 of Mr. Burke's *reflections on the French Revolution*; and p. 109-110 of *the Appeal.*

Muſt

Muſt the ſtandard of freedom be reard by none but theſe? Let the wiſe and good cry out *Reform*, and I ſhall gladly join in the honourable purſuit; " *Sed mihi, ad hujuſce verbi vim, & interpreta-* " *tionem, vehementer opus eſt veſtra ſapientia: ver-* " *ſatur enim magnus error, propter inſidioſas non-* " *nullorum ſimulationes; qui, quum populi non ſolum* " *commoda, verum etiam ſalutem oppugnant, & im-* " *pediunt, oratione aſſequi volunt ut populares eſſe* " *videantur.* †

At preſent, in every caſe of political doubt, which I had not the means of inveſtigating thoroughly, my rule would be to take the oppoſite road, from that which I ſaw choſen by our reformers: a conduct, which, I admit, might expoſe me to the danger of " miſtaking reverſe of wrong for right;"—of narrowing too much the baſis of my patriotiſm;—and falling in with the ariſtocrats, by ſhrinking from the mob.

To damp the ardour, and repreſs the efforts of the truly patriotick, is not indeed the leaſt obvious, or leaſt fatal, amongſt the tendencies of faction; at whoſe clamorous approach, the good citizen muſt abandon the fields where his virtues uſed to range; and retire within the citadel of party ſpirit.—When faction has torn ſociety in

† But I have need that your wiſdom ſhould define the force, and meaning of this word: for abroad there is much error; owing to the treacherous pretences of thoſe, who, whilſt they combat the advantage, and even ſafety of the people, yet acquire by their harangues, the reputation of patriotiſm.

CICERO.

pieces,

pieces, patriotiſm muſt ſelect which fragment it will preſerve. When the civil pile has fallen to the ground, the patriot muſt ſeek ſhelter in ſome corner of the ruin.

So long as he is not forced to regard ſociety diſunited, he has no inequitable leaning to ariſtocracy. Nay, the tenderneſs and dilation of his benevolence find, in the numbers, and diſtreſſes of the multitude, ſomething, whereon they are fonder to repoſe. Whilſt ſociety holds together, the ubiquity of patriotiſm is not to be confined to the details of party, nor impriſoned within the boundaries of rank. The furtherance of partial intereſts may form its means; but univerſal welfare is its *end*. It regards ariſtocracy but as a member, though perhaps the nobleſt, of the ſocial body: It diſapproves the jealouſy which ſets a man at variance with his limbs; and will be apt to treat the ſyſtem of *equality*, as a project to reſtore the patient's health, by cutting off his head. In the mind of the patriot, the gradations of rank are blended to indiſtinctneſs: there, oppoſite intereſts converge and coaleſce, 'till they glow in the focus of love to his country. Colours are not diſcriminated in the body of the ſun; nor ranks and intereſts in the illuminated mind of Patriotiſm. They are loſt, in that dazzling maſs of natural, or political light, which pervades the phyſical, or ſocial world; and from which ſuch diſtinctions reſpectively proceed.

The nature of thoſe abuſes to which I allude, leads me rather to animadvert on the factious, than the ſervile: but do not ſuppoſe me wanting in contempt

contempt for theſe. The preſcriptions which I ſend ſhould be ſuited to the nature of the ſymptoms which prevail; but if you would have my judgment on the danger of thoſe maladies, to which my patient country is expoſed; I perhaps ſhould ſay, 'twere better ſuffer from faction, than from ſlaviſhneſs; the one may throw off impurities; the other can but impair ſtrength.—*Malo periculoſam libertatem, quam quietum ſervitium.**—I preſer a ſever, to a lethargy.

But does there not lurk a falſehood beneath the analogy which I have choſen? Are not faction and ſervility rather ſymptoms of the ſame diſeaſe? occurring perhaps at an earlier, and a later period, but threatening, both, the exiſtence of our freedom? The one is the delirium with which the malady commences; and the other is the languor, that terminates in death. The danger they produce differs only in degree, and is meaſured by that progreſs of diſtemper, which they announce. Faction is, indeed, on no account more formidable, than as it thus is the forerunner of that deſpotiſm, which it ſeems to thwart; *(ut ferme fugiendo in media fata ruitur;)* † nor ſhould it ever be forgotten by thoſe, who wiſh the welfare of their country, that civil diſcord is often the prognoſtick of national ſervitude.

Theſe are the conſiderations which clothe faction in its terrors. Exult not then ye flatterers of the great, to ſee me laſh the flatterers of the

* The ſentiment of a Palantine at a Poliſh Diet.

† Livy.

mob.

mob. I treat *you* better, becauſe I fear you leſs. The tyranny you worſhip is leſs horribly powerful, than that which the factious would ſet up in its room: your numbers are leſs great, and your improbity leſs active, and miſchievous, than theirs. You are leſs dangerous, by being more contemptible.— But ſuffer me to illuſtrate the impartiality of which I boaſt, by ſketching an ariſtocrat of the order of ſervility.

Though its claim be now preſcriptive to the ownerſhip of his character, the loyalty of *Deſpot* was originally accidental. On the emptineſs of his mind, and coarſeneſs of his morals, ſervility or faction were at liberty to ſeize, when a connection with men in power put the matter out of doubt. His famiſhed intellect devoured the maxims which their bounty could beſtow; and hoarded ſcraps which might ſupply the emergencies of the future. He was a beggar of the opinions, that fell at his maſter's table. Theſe, heated by zeal, ſeaſoned with vanity, and ſerved up by inſolence, in that conſiſtency, which by rotting together they have acquired, form the nauſeous repaſt, to which he treats his friends. That narrowneſs of faculty which gives him no field to range in, but, by ſtraitening him on the ſides, compels him to move forward, he has thought proper to denominate ſtraight underſtanding; thus mediately glorying in his own imbecility. That thickneſs of intellect which ſees nothing in detail, he has dignified with the title of ſolid ſenſe; and would ſneer at the diviſion of a bedſtead into teſter and poſts, or a table into legs and plank, as the flimſy ſubtilties of metaphyſical analyſis.

DESPOT

DESPOT has been neceſſarily fortunate † in life. To enſure ſucceſs, his talents needed only the direction they have taken. With that ready officiouſneſs of dependent minds; that active zeal which ſprings from ignorance, and that friendly vanity which comforts weakneſs; that watchful aſſiduity which is ever in the way; and that meanneſs of ambition which accumulates preferment, by ſnapping at the offers which his betters had refuſed, how could Deſpot miſs his road to greatneſs?

Whilſt vanity told himſelf he was fitted to command, experience told his maſters he was willing to obey; and obſequiouſneſs raiſed him to the higher ranks of ſlavery.

Yet Deſpot holds no place of ſingular truſt, or dignity; his ſplendour ariſing from a conſtellation of petty offices and profits; to which his keen, pointed avarice is continually adding the minute luſtre of ſome new emolument.

Never quick to diſcern the delicacies of virtue, his intereſts have long ſince thickened the obſcurity; and he is more corrupt than he knows himſelf to be.

Here was a ſoil not unſuited to the growth of faction. But, *jacta eſt alea*; that preſumptous ignorance which might have clamoured for the mob, is now hired to ſupport the meaſures of Adminiſtration. That zeal which might have

† If I may ſo expreſs myſelf.

thundered

thundered in exploſions of ſedition, now glows in the ſofter permanence of ſervility. He is now a link in the galling chain of deſpotic ſubordination; he is now a vulgar ariſtocrat for life. To that ſyſtem of chicane which ſuits with his morality, and that miniſterial juggle which he miſtakes for the Conſtitution, his ſympathies are linked, and his attachment is inviolable.

Yet, we ſhould not, perhaps, attribute to rebels, or to ſlaves, all that guiltineſs of intention, which their overt acts imply. That they are thrown into different walks, is the conſeqnence of chance; that they have miſſed their way in each, is the effect of imbecility. Zeal, the daughter of ignorance, was their primary conductor; Improbity but a ſecondary, and ſubordinate guide.

Hear my voice then, ye ſlaves of greatneſs; and attend to my words, ye inſtigators of faction: ye are more nearly allied, than you would have it believed: * abettors, both, of arbitrary power, you differ only as to where it ſhould be placed. †—If your excuſe be not included in the follow-

* Ariſtotle diſcovers much reſemblance between Court favourites, in a tyranny, and Demagogues, in a democracy; (ϰ᾽ ὁ δημαγωγος ϰαὶ ὁ ϰόλαξ, ὁι ἀυτοὶ ϰαὶ ἀνάλογοι) and indeed, in general, between theſe two, ſeemingly oppoſite, forms of government. I met with the paſſage in Mr. Burke's reflections; (p. 186) where the reference is to Politic. lib. 4. cap. 4.

† See Number 7,—or ſee rather the paſſage from Ariſtotle, (mentioned in the above note,) concerning tyrannies, and democracies; of which he ſays, τὸ ἦθος τὸ ἀυτὸ, ϰ᾽ ἄμφω ϵστι ποτιϰὰ, &c.

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ing poſitions, I confeſs myſelf unable to ſtate where it may be found.

That Ignorance ſhould be zealous, is only natural; for to ignorance, *that* ſeems certainly good, and eaſily attainable, of which knowledge doubts the advantage if acquired; and perceives the difficulties which muſt attend its acquiſition. To Ignorance, *that* appears uniform, and ſimple, which knowledge diſcovers to be complex, and heterogeneous. The theories of the one are perſpicuous, by being ſhallow: while thoſe of the other are more opaque, by being more profound. What wonder, then, if Ignorance be zealous and precipitate, and knowledge be cautious, and heſitating, and almoſt timorous? Diſciples of faction, it is your ignorance which has produced your zeal; and, in the eyes of the candid, you therefore are excuſable.

I will go a ſtep further towards your juſtification. If ignorance produces zeal, this latter in its turn, encreaſes ignorance; till the ignorant and zealous man walks blindfold in the dark. Diſciples of faction, your ignorance has been aggravated by the acceſſion of your zeal, and thus you are the more excuſable. But though you be pitiable, you are miſchievous notwithſtanding. Vermin, as ye are, you may gnaw through thoſe meſhes, which confine the lion rage of a rabble, and let it looſe upon us, for general deſtruction. Your writings, however mean, are not quite beneath our Notice.—The ſcrap of touch-paper, which ſpits, and ſtinks, by the way, ſide, may communicate with combuſtibles, to ſet the city in a flame; and is, therefore, not too contemptible, to be trodden under foot.

NUMBER V.

.....

SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1792.

.....

" *This is a ſtrange repoſe! to be aſleep*
" *With eyes wide open: ſtanding, ſpeaking, moving,*
" *And yet ſo faſt aſleep!*"

SHAKSPEARE.

SINCE the firſt introduction of periodical writings, it has been the conſtant, and undiſputed privilege of their authors to dream with a degree of method, unknown to all, but themſelves. Indeed, this literary franchiſe could be traced ſtill higher; for the dozings of Homer have been long upon record; and his celeſtial viſions are noticed by Longinus.

I therefore claim to ſleep with my fathers: to dream with no leſs accuracy than they have done; and to inherit thoſe air-built caſtles, which make ſo principal a part of an author's patrimony. Nor ſhould the mock-patriots conteſt my right to this incorporeal hereditament; ſince, who more viſionary, than themſelves?

They

They have a ſecond ſight, like that of their rude brethren in the Highlands, which, overlooking actual good, diſcovers air-drawn miſchief; and falls on ſolid evils, in ſhunning empty forms, which the fumes of faction aſſume, as they exhale.

As I was lately thinking upon a ſubject for my next paper, my meditations inſenſibly ſtrayed to a reverie, which led to a ſlumber, that ſeemed ſuddenly interrupted by the ſtriking of oars upon water; and raiſing my head, I found myſelf on board a ſmall boat, in a ſpacious harbour, making for the neareſt point of land. The ſhores on either ſide were pictureſque and cultivated, and at the weſtern extremity of the haven lay a town, † which, reflecting the rays of the ſun as it roſe, was gradually lighted up to a moſt dazzling brightneſs. Whilſt I was admiring the brilliancy of this natural fire-work, our boat reached the ſhore, and we diſembarked; when, as ſurpriſe is not an emotion uſually excited by any occurrences of a dream, (however uncommon one might think them when awake), I calmly enquired of the mariners upon what coaſt they had landed us: they had ſcarcely informed me that this was the Iſle of Liberty, before I ſaw the Goddeſs herſelf, deſcending towards me, from an adjacent hill. She was habited like a mountain nymph, and in her look there was a mingled expreſſion, of ſpirit and mildneſs, that was extremely attractive. In her right hand ſhe held a wand, from whoſe point there iſſued a bright and ſteady

† D————————n

flame;

flame; and her left graſped a ſcroll, which, as ſhe came nearer, I diſcerned to conſiſt of the Great Charter, and the declaration of Rights. She was accompanied by the Genius *Rekub*; and followed by a troop of negroes, wearing, upon their heads the badges of acquired freedom.

She welcomed me to the iſland, with acknow-

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common point, at the ... ;
and were thronged with paſſengers, on their way thither;—concerning whom I remarked, that whilſt upon two of the roads, they were habited in black, and other gloomy colours, thoſe upon the third, being arrayed in ſcarlet, and all armed, made a moſt lively and brilliant appearance.

The country which lay between, filled the eye very agreeably. Broken into inequalities, ſheltered with trees, and glittering with ſtreams of water;—interſected by encloſures, and ſcattered

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She welcomed me to the iſland, with acknowledgments of my zeal, and hopes for my ſucceſs; lamented that Faction was not yet driven from her territories; and having recommended me to the care of the Genius Rekub, ſuddenly left us. —Rekub, turning upon me a countenance, that beamed with intelligent benignity, offered to be my guide, whilſt I ſhould aſcend the heighths of Government, and reconnoitre the motions of Faction.

Within view of where we ſtood, three great roads, ſtriking from different quarters of the iſland, and gradually converging, ended in a common point, at the Hill of Government; and were thronged with paſſengers, on their way thither;—concerning whom I remarked, that whilſt upon two of the roads, they were habited in black, and other gloomy colours, thoſe upon the third, being arrayed in ſcarlet, and all armed, made a moſt lively and brilliant appearance.

The country which lay between, filled the eye very agreeably. Broken into inequalities, ſheltered with trees, and glittering with ſtreams of water;—interſected by encloſures, and ſcattered

over with buildings, it ſhewed all the gradations between plenty and profuſion, neatneſs and grandeur, competence and riches; proclaiming every where, diverſity of wealth, with equality of comfort.

Shunning, therefore, the buſtle of a public road, we ſought, amongſt theſe retreats, a paſſage to the hill; purſuing our way along by-paths, from which, as they lay amongſt groves, and on the banks of rivers, by caſtles, and cottages, through ſcenes of rich cultivation, or elegant retirement, the eye unwillingly endured thoſe glimpſes of the hill, and the highways, which broke tranſiently in upon this rural ſcene.

During our journey, we ſometimes met the emiſſaries of Faction; who, preaching inſurrection to the little groupes they were able to collect round them, aſſured their audience, that, notwithſtanding thoſe appearances of plenty, freedom, and ſecurity, with which they ſuffered themſelves to be deluded, they were, in fact, a ſet of the moſt miſerable, oppreſſed, abject wretches exiſting, and muſt ſo continue, unleſs they would quickly deſert their tillage, and going upon the highway, aſſiſt ſome patriotic citizens, who were employed to level the Hill of Government; which they aſſerted not to be a natural exceſcence, but an artificial mound, thrown up by ſome Norman invaders, to awe the people.

I could not obſerve that thoſe preachers were ſucceſsful:—the country-folk ſeemed to liſten with a ſort of contemptuous aſtoniſhment; and except

except ſome ragged ſtragglers, who, abhorring induſtry, and wanting occupation, went with them upon the high-road, they made no proſelytes.

One indeed there was, who, by means of a ſimplicity of expreſſion that reſembled truth, and a ſharpneſs of ſtyle which might be miſtaken for eloquence, had not only attracted a pretty numerous audience, but was liſtened to with uncommon, and dangerous attention. This man as we drew near, betrayed ſymptoms of embarraſſment; and after making a ſudden pauſe in his diſcourſe, to my great ſurpriſe, reſumed it to this effect:—

P. S. The reader will take notice that I am ſtill aſleep; and ſhall dream through another paper, for his edification and amuſement.

NUMBER VI.

.....

SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1792.

.....

(Dream continued.)

" *You do yet taſte*
" *Some ſubtleties* O'TH'ISLE, *that will not let you*
" *Believe things certain.*"

SHAKSPEARE.

" ARE you then the dupes of ſuch ſhallow
" ſophiſtry, as mine? Are you deluded, when I
" hold up America for imitation? whoſe cheap
" Government ariſes not from wiſdom of inſti-
" tutions, but from ſcarcity of money. Do you
" not perceive, that if your country were leſs
" flouriſhing, your Adminiſtration would be
" leſs coſtly? ſince preſent expences are not the
" exactions of oppreſſion, but the overflowings
" of wealth;—or can you regret that thoſe days
" are paſt, when government was cheap,—and
" liberty precarious: taxation light,—and pro-
" perty inſecure?

" Is

" Is not the boldneſs with which *I* defame
" your conſtitution, a ſtriking proof of the free
" principles which pervade it?—In ſuch incen-
" diaries as myſelf, behold the maladies of ex-
" ceſſive, and plethoric freedom!—yet it is the
" ſupineneſs of your Government, which permits
" us to ſcatter flames. We are *anſwered* by the
" ſpeculatiſt, when we ſhould be *ſilenced* by the
" magiſtrate:—you ſeek to convince, whom you
' ought to coerce:—to perſuade, thro' their
" reaſon, whom you ſhould controul, thro' their
" fears."

His audience having liſtened to this new move-ment in the ſonata of his eloquence, long enough to ſatisfy the wonder it excited, were now diſ-perſing, when, turning to *Rekub*, to remark upon ſo ſingular an harangue, I obſerved his arm ex-tended, and ſaw ſomething in his air and manner, which explained to me that 'twas he, who, by means of an over-ruling influence, had forced the orator to utter truths, which it was his inte-reſt to conceal.

We were now drawing near the Hill of Go-vernment; and, as we approached the confluence of the three great roads, our landſcape, though enriched with ſtructures of more ſplendor, had proportionally loſt of that ſoothing privacy, and ſimple elegance, which charmed us at our outſet; being interſected by many croſs-ways, and expoſed to clamour and interruption, from the neighbourhood of Ambition, Politicks, and Popularity. To our left, however, we perceiv-ed a ſmall wood, to which, beſides its promiſing

a re-

a renewal of that retirement, from which we had unwillingly emerged, and affording a paſſage of ſufficiently gradual acceſs to the Hill, we were yet farther attracted by a ſoft and harmonious ſound, which iſſuing from thence, was borne to us upon the ſame winds, that ſhook the trees with a gentle agitation. Thither, therefore, we directed our ſteps, and aſcended the Hill through the Groves of Science, where Wiſdom drew refreſhment from the ſtreams of Bounty, and Literature reclined beneath the ſhade of Patronage. In theſe retreats *Rekub* was known and honoured; but Curioſity forbad our ſtay, and we iſſued forth upon the Mount; which, thrown up by Nature, and improved by Art, wore the appearance of ſomewhat between a fortreſs, and a hill.

It was thronged with people, gaily dreſt, and all in motion; ſome labouring up with aſſiduity, and others rolling rapidly down, amidſt the hootings of thoſe who had kept their footing better: the whole forming 'a coup d'œil, which, for airineſs and buſtle, I do not think, could be eaſily excelled.

We now directed our eyes to the right, and overlooked the plains of *Faction*. They were covered with a thick fog, compoſed of vapours exhaled from the moraſſes of Ignorance, and ſmoke ariſing from the furnaces of Sedition: but the darkneſs was interrupted by meteors of Prejudice, which, ſtarting from the ſoil, kindled as they roſe, and glaring through the miſt, moved towards the moſt dangerous parts of the moraſs; where they hovered for a time, and then vaniſhed, with

with a loud exploſion, leaving their followers plunged in inextricable error. Beyond this region, lay the ſhores of Anarchy; a dreary tract, heaving with inceſſant earthquakes, and expoſed to inundation from the Ocean of Barbariſm, which roared in the limits of our horizon.

On the neareſt ſpot of the plains of Faction, at the baſe of the Hill, the Levellers had pitched their camp; upon ground ſo diſadvantageous, that from no part was the aſcent more abrupt, or impracticable: a circumſtance ariſing not ſolely from defect of choice; but becauſe the more acceſſible approaches to the mount, through the walks of profeſſion, the improvements of knowledge, or ſcenes of rural life, were barred to all, who had not paſſports, from Merit, Induſtry, or Taſte.

Their camp was a ſcene of diſeaſe and wretchedneſs; of feveriſh reſtleſſneſs and ſickly intoxication; produced by frequent draughts of an eager poiſon, with which they were ſupplied from its adjacent ſources; and which, though I readily knew to be vulgar licentiouſneſs, they greedily ſwallowed for public ſpirit. The victims that periſhed, in conſequence of its venom, their leaders piled in heaps, that ſhould facilitate their own aſcent: a practice ſtudiouſly concealed from the ſurvivors; who, on this account, were ſtrictly confined to their entrenchments.

Amongſt theſe leaders there was one, whom *Rekub* call'd *Impoſture*, and who fix'd me by a ſmile, the moſt treacherous I have ever ſeen;—

which

which petrify'd every feeling of confidence, within me. It was the repoſe of muſcle, in which ſucceſsful Miſchief reſts from toil; and baſks in emanations of intenſe malevolence: the ſame malignant brightneſs, which lighted up the features of the Arch-foe, when our firſt parents fell from their obedience. From the painful faſcination which this ſmile produced, I was rouſed by a buſtle in the camp, announcing the arrival of the Genius *Ainep*; in whom I quickly recogniſed my ruſtic orator, the courſe of whoſe eloquence had been ſo whimſically diverted, by the prevalence of Rekub. His reception was ſuch as marked him for a Chief of note amongſt the Factious;—from whoſe camp my attention was now drawn by a company of men, who having aſcended the Hill by the legitimate roads, but being unable to keep pace with ſome of their fellows, or having ſlipped and fallen in their aſcent, ſeceded in diſguſt, and formed a groupe upon the rocks which overhung the camp. From thence they held an intercourſe with thoſe below; lending the hand to ſome, to aſſiſt them in climbing up, and cheering all with the language of encouragement;—while ſome amongſt them leaped, in a ſeeming frenzy, from the precipice, and were caught by thoſe beneath, with ſhouts of exultation.

Time not permitting to dwell longer on this ſcene, we turned, to aſcend the Hill, and advanced towards a building, ſituated midway, between its baſe and ſummit. It was raiſed upon a level ſpot; and the face of the edifice, its dome

and

and porticos, reminded me of ſomething I had ſeen elſewhere.

As we approach'd the building, *Rekub* thus addreſſed me.—" To level this hill—would be fruit-
" leſs toil; if ſuch were, indeed, the intention of
" the factious. The ſoil we tread is pregnant
" with an active principle, which would ſpeedi-
" ly throw up another eminence, in its ſtead.—
" But much ſkill has been ſucceſsfully employ'd
" to adapt the preſent mound to the purpoſes of
" ſociety, and the ſecurity of national felicity.
" I ſhould therefore regret its deſtruction. I
" ſhould grieve to loſe thoſe improvements of
" art, which muſt periſh in its fall; and ſhould
" mourn the precarioufneſs of human proviſions,
" when I beheld inequality reſtored, by a rude
" and monſtrous heap, thruſt forth by diſtem-
" pered nature, to ſupply its place;—deſtitute of
" thoſe conveniencies, and ſocial ornaments,
" which the gradual art of ages had produced.

" The heights on which we ſtand,—are of vol-
" canick origin.—They were raiſed in the ſtrug-
" gles, and heated expanſion of human violence;
" and, in earlytimes, were alternately the ſeat of
" conflicting Force, and arbitrary Power. But
" the exploſions are no more; and nothing can
" be ſeen but verdure and fertility.—Nay thoſe
" deſolating floods which overran its ſides, have
" ultimately, perhaps, ſerved to connect the
" hill with the adjoining country; and break the

" inacceſſible

" inacceſſible abruptneſs of its precipices, to " acclivities of eaſier aſcent to thoſe, who ap- " proach it from the territories that lye be- " neath.

" Look round upon the iſland. Except thoſe " tedious and peſtilential flats, which are ranged " by the tumultuous hordes of Faction, how gra- " dual the deſcent from its ſummit to its ſides!— " What eaſy acceſs can Freedom have to every, " the remoteſt corner of her demeſnes—through " the ſmooth, and connecting paths of ſubordina- " tion!—

" But let us not be deceived in the objects of " the factious:—they do not wiſh to demoliſh,— " but to occupy:—not to diſmantle the for- " treſs;—but to garriſon it themſelves: not to " level the hill of government; but to hurl " Freedom from her throne; and ſet up a furious " Deſpotiſm in her ſtead.*—I ſpeak of the lead- " ers:—the thoughtleſs multitude is guiltleſs of " deſign. Their crime extends not beyond the " ſavageneſs of the moment. They are frequent- " ly as innocent of the ends they bring about, as " the inſtrument which is uſed to perpetrate a " murder. The exploſion of their violence does " but carry home the miſchief, which engineers " of faction point againſt the ſtate."

Whilſt he ſpoke, we had arrived; and, on entering the Temple, were again cheered with the

* See Number 7.

preſence

preſence of Liberty. She was occupied in ſuperintending the affairs of the iſland; which were adminiſtered by three Vicegerents, that ſat beneath, and whoſe countenances were contraſted, with ſingular variety. In that of the firſt, beneath an air of great dignity, and a certain look of dexterous promptneſs, there lurked ſome traces of ſternneſs, and oppreſſion. The ſecond denoted large views, and lofty ſentiments; honour, delicacy, and liberal intelligence; all blended in that ſoft and tranquil air, which ſhews a ſafe and languid inactivity of temper:—but it was blemiſhed with a look of pride, effeminacy, and debauch. The third, whilſt it beamed with ſpirit, and activity,—was diſgraced by a look of violence, and raſhneſs.

After theſe three had debated each meaſure amongſt themſelves, their diſquiſition ended in a compromiſe; and the reſulting decree was put in force by the firſt: but I could ſcarcely obſerve, that with the Goddeſs who directed, any one of theſe Deputies was an object of greater favour than the reſt.

How much farther I ſhould have proceeded in my ſlumbering obſervations I know not, if I had not been ſtartled, by what ſeemed a cry of "the dome is on fire!" * when raiſing my head, I found, that as I nodded, my hair had taken

* This paper was written not very long after the dome of the Parliament Houſe had taken fire.

fire

fire, at a candle which lay near me; and my ſervant, (though a Frenchman,) was employed in ſtifling the flames.

NUMBER VII.

.....

SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1792.

.....

Caliban.—*Freedom! hey day! hey day! Freedom! Freedom! hey day! Freedom!*

Stephano.—*O brave Monſter, lead the way.*

SHAKSPEARE.

WHAT Stephano addreſſed to the patriotick Caliban, I am tempted to repeat to the Jacobins of France. It is not enough to ſhout *Freedom* in our ears, without acquainting us in what government ſhe dwells. Direct us ye Marats, ye Chabots, and Roberſpierres, *—direct us ye Canibals (I ſhould ſay Calibans) of France, in that ſearch for Liberty, which you preſcribe. "O brave monſters — *lead the way.*" —— Nor will we be put off, by the flouriſhes of

* Roberſpierre is nephew to the aſſaſſin D'Amiens; and thus qualified, by deſcent, for that humane taſk which he, or one of his colleagues, ſaid lately ſhould be undertaken, viz. "*to purge the earth of Kings.*"

mobleaders,—

mobleaders,—which are probably as infidious, as they certainly are abſurd; nor yet by the extorted profeſſions of poor ſlaves, who in boaſting of their liberties, are trembling for their lives: who know that one moderate expreſſion would be treaſon. Point out to us that freedom, which you ſay is within graſp; and whoſe attainment can, alone, ſerve to palliate your exceſſes.

When Liberty was deified by the heroes of antiquity, they inveſted her with no attributes ſubverſive of good order, deſtructive of humanity, or incompatible with reaſon, and with ſocial duty. Of that rational freedom which they adored, I ſhould eagerly—if neceſſary, join in the purſuit. If it were not already in our poſſeſſion, I ſhould import from abroad, this worthy object of human worſhip; and place her, with reſpect, in the citadel of my country:—but could any man be mad enough to look for her in France?

Amidſt pillage, and murder—diſobedience, and impiety—anarchy, and deſolation—the deſperate fury of a tyrannic mob, and more diſciplined cruelty of a political inquiſition—can the mild genius of liberty have choſen her abode? Are we permitted to deem that nation free, where ſecret thoughts are capital offences, and the ſuſpicions of the rabble legal proof? or is it not rather going too far, to believe that the people are, even rational, and civilized, in a country, where many of thoſe are eaten, that are killed?

If my readers would ſee the ſpirit of an uſeful liberty, embodied into practice, and animating the machine of public government, I refer them at once, to the conſtitution of our country. If they would contemplate it in a ſtate of theoretic ſimplicity, it muſt be ſoar'd for, thro' the ſubtilties of analyſis, and abſtraction.

Aſcending from the ſolidity of practical reaſon, to the airineſs of metaphyſical inquiry, they will find that it is not the liberty of doing what we will, which is deſirable; but that the freedom which ſhould be cheriſhed, muſt be circumſcribed; and the bounds be ſought for, not in wiſhes, but in duties: that abſolute freedom is hardly to be diſtinguiſhed from arbitrary power; and that this latter is a curſe, unleſs accompanied by the pureſt benevolence, and wiſdom: perfections which, muſt not be ſought for amongſt men.

That, therefore, the ſupreme authority in a ſtate ſhould be an energy, extracted from conflicting powers: ſomething extrinſic to the vice, and follies of our nature.

In ſuch an over-ruling ſupremacy alone, as thus hovers o'er the ſtate, without mingling in its parts, ſhould the freedom which identifies with arbitrary power, the volatile eſſence of liberty be lodged. For, take away the harmony of control, and mutual compromiſe: place *in one body* of the ſtate, that freedom which means ſovereignty, and which therefore ought to be extrinſic to them all;—the active ſpirit burſts in miſchievous exploſions: it evaporates in their follies; or is polluted by their crimes.

By

By ſhifting the place of Deſpotiſm, you do not change its nature: lodge it with the prince; or lodge it with the people; it ſtill retains its character, unimpaired.—Deſpotiſm is *arbitrary power, placed in men:*—placed out of them, *in the energy, reſulting from ballanced powers*, this ſame dominion will become good government; and form the Britiſh conſtitution.

Thoſe, therefore, who would aboliſh all mixture in civil ſway, and depoſit the ſupreme authority with the multitude, are advocates for tyranny, properly underſtood: and in fact, the "Rights of Man" and "Sacred will of the Peo-"ple," interpreted as they are, by thoſe who write upon them, mean little more than that *right of ſtrength*, the moſt ſavage, and rudimental authority, ſet up by nature, and which is the origin, and foundation of deſpotic rule:—yet, before theſe magic words, I ſee men bend the knee, who would ſhrink from a philoſophy, that ſhould found its claims to authority, on mere power.

Let me here obſerve that, when I talk of *abſolute power*, (which, ſtrictly ſpeaking, can nowhere exiſt, but in the deity) I mean only to denote one, conſiſtent with human weakneſs; but ſupreme, and uncontrolled, within that government, in which 'tis found.

Abſolute power then, thus defined, is a quality, eſſential to every ſtate; and in the placing of this power, conſiſt the faultineſs, or excellence, of particular conſtitutions:—the art is to lodge it where it is leaſt likely to be abuſed; which is accompliſhed

accompliſhed, when ſovereignty is not the privilege of any one claſs, but the *reſult* of powers apportioned amongſt them all. Wherever the ſupreme force is not thus ſcattered, but ſubſiſts in ſome one portion of the community, ſo that whilſt this part rules, the reſt have no controul, the character of the government ſeems to me to be deſpotick; and to prevent ſuch deſpotiſm from being an evil, there would be need of wiſdom, and virtue, in thoſe who govern, commenſurate with their power, and incompatible with their nature.

And of this natural unfitneſs in any ſet of men, to exerciſe ſupreme dominion over others, *Rouſſeau* appears to have been aware; when, in his *contrat ſocial*, he laid it down, that "a democratick government would ſuit a people of Gods;" a ſentiment which, in recognizing the truth of my principles, expoſes the ingenious author to raillery: for may not readers, in addition to the ſentence above cited, pronounce that *ſo a Monarchy, or Ariſtocracy would ſuit them?* or, in ſhort, does Rouſſeau's aſſertion amount to more than this, that ANY government will anſwer for a people, who require NONE?

That repugnance, which, exiſting between the intereſts of different men, renders it difficult for one to provide for thoſe of others, without a partial ſacrifice of his own, joined to that lack of virtue in human nature, which is ſo inſurmountable an obſtacle to our making ſuch a ſacrifice,—is what renders ſimple government generally unſuitable; * by making men unfit to be

* The neceſſity for mixed government might be deduced, at once, from that fact, noticed by D'Alembert, (in his analyſis

truſted with dominion. But, ('tis curious to trace Nature, in her winding progreſs,) thoſe very cauſes, which make the ſimple form improper, directly tend to render the mixed one efficacious: they are indeed its ſole foundation: it is raiſed upon contrariant intereſts, and ſelf love.

The framer of a balanced conſtitution proceeds thus. He examines thoſe great maſſes of human intereſt, into which a people is naturally ſplit: he then ſeparates them, more accurately than had been done by Nature, in order to aſcertain their boundaries exactly.—Theſe intereſts, even without his interpoſition, would have naturally operated as a check upon each other: his taſk is to ſtrike an even balance betwixt them: to make their mutual controul ſo equal, and effectual, that the conſequence may be general harmony, and peace;—and, in atchieving this, if the natural checks be inſufficient, he perhaps, may even add an artificial one, himſelf.

He brings forth the *ſovereign force of the ſtate*; and, dividing it into parts, beſtows one upon each of thoſe great intereſts, which form the nation. Theſe fragments of ſupreme power are not equal, amongſt themſelves;—but their reſpective quantities are proportioned to the nature, ſtrength, and exigencies of that national intereſt, which each is intended to protect.

lyſis of Monteſquieu's work.) in theſe words: voila donc les hommes, reunis, & armes, tout à la fois: s'embraſſant d'un côte, ſi on peut parler ainſi; et cherchant, de l'autre, à ſe bleſſer mutuellement. "Laws, (he adds,)" muſt, more or leſs effectually, reſtrain thoſe blows."——The laws enacted by a mixed legiſlature will be, evidently, the moſt effectual, for this purpoſe.

The

The ſupreme power, thus ſeparated into parts, loſes its ſovereign efficacy, for a time: in order to regain it, thoſe parts muſt be rejoined; and in this neceſſity conſiſts the protection, which each fragment affords, to the intereſt that obtains it. For no junction can be effected, without the conſent of each proprietor; and this conſent he will take care to have purchaſed, by a due regard to his peculiar intereſts: the delay, which theſe negociations muſt produce, is another advantage, that attends the *mixed forms:* it prevents the precipitancy of human paſſions; and gives our loitering reaſon ſufficient time to act.—And when, at laſt, the ſovereign power is complete, and ſet in motion, it is not the will, nor force, of any ſet of men, but a ſomething, that is ſuperior to them all. For the jarring intereſts of thoſe bodies in the ſtate, with whom its ſeparate parts were lodged, forbid us to conſider them as one ſociety; and the ſupreme energy is, rather an extract from their conflicts, than a conſequence of their concurrence: they can be ſcarcely ſaid to poſſeſs the authority, with which they bind; but reſemble the types, employed to print an act of parliament.—And it is for this reaſon, that I have ſaid, of the ſovereign power, in mixed government, that it "hovers o'er the ſtate, without mingling in its "parts; and is extrinſick to the vice, and follies "of our nature."

Thus I have ſketched, rudely, what ſeem to me the principles of a balanced conſtitution: whoſe tendency is to obviate the effects of our depravity; whilſt its ſtability, as well as efficacy, are guaranteed by the ſtate of human affairs, and the

nature, and qualities of human kind.—Towards its utility, only two things ſeem required: that all men ſhould not have the ſame intereſts, preciſely; and that each man ſhould deſire to promote his own.

NUMBER VIII.

.....

SATURDAY, AUGUST 25, 1792.

.....

Moderatio tuendæ libertatis, dum, æquari vellę ſimulando, ita ſe quisque extollit, ut deprimat alium, in difficili eſt;—cavendoque ne metuant, homines metuendos ultro ſe efficiunt; et injuriam, à nobis repulſam, tanquam aut facere, aut pati, neceſſe ſit, injungimus aliis.

LIV. hiſt. lib. 3. c. 65.

IN my laſt Number, I inquired into the limits of an uſeful liberty; and, having ſketch'd its boundaries, I pronounced mixed government to be the ſureſt inſtrument of its attainment; and beſt ſecurity for its preſervation. My reader will perceive, from the motto which is prefixed, that I mean to purſue the inquiry, through this paper. I ſhall firſt, however, deviate a little from my line, in order to diſcuſs a matter, which, though related, is yet, only collateral to the main inquiry:—I mean the impropriety, or rather folly,

folly, of an attempt to aſſimilate all governments, throughout the world;—without regard to the varieties, that diſtinguiſh nations.

What Phyſician, that deſired to effect a cure, would diſmiſs from his thoughts the *peculiar habit* of his patient?—When, perhaps, on his intimate acquaintance with this, very principally depends the ſucceſs of his applications. It is the total neglect of this preparatory obſervation, which has been pleaſantly ridiculed, by the author of Gil Blas. We all taſte the folly of Sangrado's conduct; who confines his patients, without diſtinction, to one ſettled courſe of regimen, and medicine:—yet, though government be but a cure for the maladies of ſociety, when the French exhibit their political ſpecific, of primary aſſemblies, to every people they approach; (without delay, diſcrimination, or inquiry,) we ſee nothing, in their conduct, to excite contempt!——though, in truth, they tread exactly in the footſteps of Sangrado: ſpilling their patient's blood; and keeping them in hot water.

Again, we ſhould certainly diſapprove of an attempt to apply, indiſcriminately, to all our youth, one uniform plan of education; without allowing for varieties of temper, and diſpoſition; of bodily ſtrength, and intellectual powers: nay, for thoſe more trivial, and extrinſick circumſtances, that tend to mould the character of the pupil, or are likely to influence his future lot.

Now,

Now, in many reſpects, government is, to a people, what education is, to a man: *emollit mores; nec ſinit eſſe feros.* And ſhall, then, that attention be denied to nations, which is found neceſſary to be given, in the caſe of individuals? though, to ſome of thoſe influences which demand regard, the nation, in all its individuals, will be ſubject, whilſt to others, from which the latter are exempted, the maſs of the nation is liable, in its turn. * The truth is, that the characters

* As an inſtance of what, ſpeaking generally, affects the nation through its individuals; (the integral number through all its fractions,) climate may be given: whoſe effect upon a people, whether to ſoften, or invigorate, will be the aggregate of its effects upon individuals, in theſe reſpects; and the nerve, which is admired and dreaded, in the nation, may be ſeen and felt, in the hardy native. Here alſo may be noticed thoſe ſituations in point of territory, which produce an active valour, and hoſtile confidence of character, that make a people,

" While their rocky ramparts, round, they ſee,
" The rough abode of Want, and Liberty,
(" As lawleſs force from confidence will grow)
" Inſult the plenty of the vales below." *

For, in ſuch caſes, I ſuppoſe the territorial character diffuſed, and parcelled out, individually, amongſt the natives; and that I am warranted in doing ſo, may appear from ſuch paſſages as the following; (which allude alſo to the oppoſite effect of territory, from that above deſcribed by Mr. Gray.)—the firſt is from Livy, lib. 9. c. 13.—" In " montibus vicatim habitantes, compeſtria & maritima loca, " contempto cultorum *molliore, atque, ut evenit fere, loci* " *ſimili genere*, ipſi, montani, atque agreſtes, depopula- " bantur."—The ſecond paſſage is extracted from the ſame author, lib. 21. c. 37. where, in his account of Hannibal's

* Gray.

deſcent

racters, and circumſtances of nations vary, like thoſe of individuals, amongſt themſelves; and require a variety of treatment, to correſpond;* and, as one education will not ſuit all men, neither will one government be proper for all nations.

Or, to conſider the ſame ſubject in a ſomewhat different point of view, (which I am reminded to do, by my own alluſion to education:) it is to be obſerved that, from the moment of our birth, Nature is training us up, and moulding our characters, with more effectual aſſiduity, than can

deſcent from the Alps, the following ſentence occurs: "inde ad planum deſcenſum eſt: etiam *locis mollioribus*, & "*accolarum ingeniis*."—But again, other national ſituations can be conceived, which, while upon individuals their operation is hardly ſeen, yet may have, upon the whole body, a ſufficiently evident effect; and give to the *people*, (conſidered leſs as a crowd, than as a corporation,) a peculiar character, to which the government ſhould perhaps adapt itſelf. Becauſe a man happens to be an Iſlander, he is not therefore, a different being from an inhabitant of the continent: yet the public character of a nation of Iſlanders differs materially from that of a continental people.

* Language itſelf, in the variety of its idioms, points out to us the exiſtence of national peculiarities. "Diffe-"rent countries" (ſays Blair) "have been noted for pe-"culiarities of Style, ſuited to their different temper, and "genius. The eaſtern nations animated their Style with "the moſt ſtrong, and hyperbolical figures. The Atheni-"ans, a poliſhed and acute people, formed a Style, accu-"rate, clear, and neat. The Aſiatics, gay, and looſe in "their manners, affected a Style, florid, and diffuſe. The "like ſort of characteriſtical differences are commonly re-"marked, in the Style of the French, the Engliſh, and "the Spaniards."

Lecture 10th.

can be expected from the cares of men. To this natural education that of men muſt be, in part, ſubordinate; and partly directed to counteracting its effects.

Nor has Nature a leſs ſhare in forming the manners of nations, than thoſe of individuals; and, in her mode of educating each, diſplays great variety. Amongſt the teachers ſhe employs, for delivering her precepts, are ſoil, and climate. Theſe taught war to Scythia; commerce to Phœnicia: aſtronomy to Babylon; and geometry to Egypt.

To this tutelage of Nature forms of government ſhould correſpond. They need a variety, and direction, that will ſuit with the modes, will promote the uſeful, and reſtrain the evil tendencies of Nature:* treading in her footſteps; and checking her career For Nature begins by being our guide; and ends in being our tempter: after putting us in the road, ſhe ſeduces us to paſs the proper limits of our journey: witneſs the near neighbourhood between wants, and paſſions: the ſatisfaction of appetite, and indulgence of intemperance: what is vice, in general, but exceſs?

But,

* Thus Mr. Gray, the Poet, ſays, "Northern nations "ſhould be taught to think; and ſouthern nations to act:" i. e. the contraſted effects of their reſpective ſituations ſhould be attended to: and the miſchievous exceſs of each reſtrained. But I cannot well conceive how a nation can receive any particular education, at the hands of men, unleſs by means of a ſuitable, and peculiar form of government.

But, (now to reſume the main ſubject of my inquiry,) excluſive of that variety, with which Nature contraſts her modes of national education; and the conſequent peculiarities, which diſcriminate nations; there is alſo one general pupillage, in which ſhe holds, and diſcipline, with which ſhe marſhals the whole human race: and of this, which is paramount to all particular diſtinctions, and extends, indifferently, over all mankind, no government that is regardleſs, can be good.—On the contrary, by contemplating this ſyſtem, we can fix certain broad, and fundamental principles, that ſhall, (with no more exceptions, than muſt be involved in all generalities,) apply to every age, and people. As circumſtantial differences fit government for each tint of national diſpoſition, theſe wide principles ſhall adapt it to the general tone of human character.

In the above doctrines, will be ſeen the merits of mixt government; and in the hiſtory of the world, will be found the accidence of Nature.

As mankind comes, from the hand of Nature, a maſs of conflicting intereſts and wiſhes, government, whoſe taſk is to terminate thoſe conflicts, and the extent of whoſe authority is over all, ſhould conſiſt in the energy of balanced powers. For unleſs each party, whoſe intereſts will be affected, names an arbitrator to concur in the award, no ſecurity is had that the award ſhall be impartial: that from the intereſts of all, ſhall be extracted happineſs for the whole: that oppoſitions ſhall be blended in juſt proportions, ſo that in their fermentation

mentation they will be neutralized; and ſubſide to the ſoftneſs of equitable compromiſe.

Indeed if the claſh of intereſts could be ſilenced, at the will of man, this poiſe might not be requiſite to the perfection of governments: men ſhould firſt bring about a coalition of intereſts, and might then ſubmit them to a ſimple government: but the former being impoſſible, the latter is inexpedient.

Governments are but contrivances of art; and art ſhould always follow nature. Therefore the attempt to eradicate intereſts, which are the growth of Nature; to pull down that ariſtocracy, which Nature rears; and level to an artificial equality, thoſe prominences, with which ſhe has broken the uniformity of our race, is an enterprize, not ſuited to the competence of art. The regulations of men muſt operate ſubordinately to the inſtitutes of nature. What ſhe has created, man cannot annihilate; be it in the phyſical, or moral word. She ſupplies, indeed, the means of checking her own exceſſes; and ſhews that, towards conſtructing a ſalutary ſcheme of government, thoſe intereſts, and powers, which ſhe has furniſhed, muſt be ſkilfully oppoſed, and nicely ballanced.

But, though intereſts ſhould claſh, yet if vice did not predominate, as governments would be ſuperfluous, ſo they might be ſimple. From the prevalence of vice, and the modes of its operation, ariſe the neceſſity for government, and expediency

pediency of ballance. We muſt not forget that vices rage; and that government is remedial. It is a mound, which the divinity of human reaſon has flung upon the enormity of human violence; and the efforts of ſedition are the quakings of this Typhon.

Nay, the delight with which we cheriſh the idea of a golden age, * (when no intereſts were at variance, and when governments were ſimple:) might perhaps be found to ſpring, if its cauſes were analyſed, from the view of that innocence, which then dignified our ſpecies; and which, though it were not expreſly noticed, we ſhould be forced to preſume. It is the baſis for our belief of the modes of life, which then prevailed; but which we feel to be incompatible with the depravity that ſurrounds us. Their incongruity with guilt proves its abſence, when they flouriſhed; and we admire them, becauſe they are now become impracticable.

Life was then a ſtate of goods, and of enjoyments: it is now a ſtate of evils, and their cures. Human ſafety then repoſed on the boſom of human virtue; but now ſeeks to be ſecured within the faſtneſſes of power. Few of the ſources, and none of the miſchiefs of inequality, then exiſted. The very rudiments of future variance, the elemental meum, and tuum, were unknown. † So

* However varied and diſtorted, yet this tradition of a period of innocence, and felicity amongſt mankind, is chanted to us by the chorus of all antiquity.

† The ſecurity of property is, according to Locke, the primary end of civil government.

long

long as we contemplate this happy period, we are abſtracted from all ideas of pollution; and dwell on viſionary ſcenes of virtue. The moral world at that time, as little reſembled, as did the natural, what theſe reſpectively are at preſent. Then, in the mind of man,

Ver erat eternum; placidique, tepentibus auris,
Mulcebant Zephyri natos ſine ſemine flores.

The ſenſe of which lines may be thus extended.

Then Spring eternal reign'd; on ſoftering gales,
O'er Flora's ſeedleſs pomp, mild Zephyr ſails:
Then knew th' unruffled Mind no boiſterous gloom;
But Paſſion fann'd ſpontaneous Virtue's bloom.

Theſe were the periods, which a republick would have ſuited. That government which was not wanted, needed not to be complex. Ere the malady appeared, the antidote was needleſs: 'till vice began to rage, mixed government was unneceſſary.

But this is not the golden age; and of the merits of an eſtabliſhment we might conclude, from fitneſs then, unfitneſs now. Let man retrieve his priſtine virtue; and then demand a ſimple government. But, when from theſe he is about to chooſe, let him conſider if between them, there be juſt grounds for preference: when the age was golden, the government was monarchick.

But

But, to return: the inequality, and the vice, inherent in mankind, make it neceſſary that, in every conſtitution, there be mixture. But tho' round this fixed and central principle, whoſe roots are in the primary qualities of our nature, all forms of government ſhould ever ſwing; thoſe forms will yet ſafely admit of being varied. In human nature, and human happineſs, we ſee the foundation, and end of government. To the eſſential qualities, and accidental varieties of nature, it ſhould poſſeſs immutable elements, and varied combinations, that will reſpectively correſpond. As nature is no where ſeen wholly decompounded, I will aſſert that no government ſhould be totally unmixed. One, whoſe ſpirit is compromiſe,—one, which ſuppoſes the variety, and antitheſis of intereſts, and beſtows protecting powers upon each,—is that, for which human Reaſon and Experience, after an attentive examination of human nature, loudly call. But the reſpective vigour of thoſe oppoſent intereſts, and the proportion which they bear, each to each, will, in different ſituations, be found to vary; and modes of government muſt vary correſpondently.

Nature muſt give the weights, with which Government ſtrikes the ballance. The leading character of a government may be popular, ariſtocratick, or monarchical, and the government, under each ſhape, may be a good one: but compromiſe is the vital particle, by which it ſubſiſts; and ſhould ſtill tranſmigrate through all its forms.

NUMBER IX.

.....

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1792.

.....

Flumina—quid rides? mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur.———

HOR.

HAVING met, in a pamphlet named *Rights of Citizens*, a fable, which ſeems worthy to be reſcued from oblivion, I have thought proper to ſnatch it from the obſcurity in which it languiſhed, and ſhare with it the immortality, to which my works aſpire.

It is called the *Rights of Waters*; * and my readers, for whoſe amuſement I this day produce it, will find it a fit match for the fable of the *Rights of Man*.

RIGHTS OF WATERS,

A FABLE.

In I know not what century after the flood, (the reader may look into Blair's Chronology), a

* The author did not foreſee, when he wrote this fable, that the *Rights of Rivers* would be ſo ſtrenuouſly aſſerted, and ſo ſeriouſly, as they ſince have been, in the political world. Not many months ago—the phraſe of Rights of Rivers, was familiar to every ear.

ſpirit

ſpirit of tumult and philoſophy is ſaid to have moved upon the face of the waters. Rivers, which merely from want of reflection, had been running quietly within their banks for ages, now diſcovered themſelves to be in ſuch a ſtate of depravity, as required a recurrence to firſt principles, for its cure; and *Rights of Waters* were making a rapid progreſs through the globe. It was argued, that this confinement within banks was a reſtraint, which they had heedleſsly impoſed upon themſelves; contrary to the liberal intentions of nature. They were created fountains; with equal natural rights; and deemed it expedient to go back to their ſources, as the only means of accurate inveſtigation. They could not ſee why ſome particles of water ſhould be thruſt down, by others, no better than themſelves. Their forerunners, it is true, had been ſubmitting to this coercion, time out of mind; but what was this to them? The rights of living waters muſt not be thus controuled, and ſported away.* Diviſions of water, into lakes, and rivers, ſprings, and puddles, they unanimouſly decried, as mere civil diſtinctions; and puſh'd their reſearches to that early period, *when water came from the hands of its maker. What was it then? Water; water was its high and only title* †

Now a rumour went, that, in the time of Noah, a great aquatic revolution had taken place; when

* See Paine's fable, of the Rights of Man.

† "If we proceed on, we ſhall at laſt come out right: "we ſhall come to the time when Man came from the "hands of his Maker: What was he then? *Man*: Man "was his high, and only title."

PAINE's Rights of Man.

all

all things were reduced to a philoſophic level. Beneath the ſanction of which precedent, it was agreed on, by the rivers, that they would not be impriſoned within banks, any longer; nor driven headlong in one direction, at the arbitrary will of fountains; but would ſhed their laſt drop, in aſſerting *the rights of Waters.*

Obſcure as to his origin, ungovernable in his temper, and a leveller in principles, Nilus led the way; and Egypt was covered with an inundation. Every cultivated inequality was overwhelmed, and all diſtinctions levelled to uniformity. Nature was ſuppoſed to have reſumed her rights; and philoſophy admired the grand ſimplicity of ruin. When lo! the tide of tumult ebbed; and eminences were ſeen to get their heads above water: the party was daily continuing to gain ground; and all things tended to a counter-revolution. What had firſt been deemed the effort of enlightened virtue, was now looked on as the ruſh of inconſiderate violence: what originally ſeemed calculated to further the views of Nature, was now ſeen to be directed in oppoſition to her will: whilſt events, in the meantime, had been ſuggeſting her omnipotence: that to combat her was dangerous;† and to conquer her impoſſible.

Such was the reſult, and the moral of this enterpriſe:—his forces all ſubdued, now languid, and impoveriſhed, the Nile was retreating imperceptibly, to his channel: whilſt Egypt groaned

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† See Number 8, for the limitations, with which, this maxim ſhould be underſtood.

ed with luxuries, and was overran by monſters, the rank, and copious produce of this watery revolution.

NUMBER X.

.....

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1792.

.....

" *I feel an inſuperable reluctance, in giving my* " *hand to deſtroy any eſtabliſhed inſtitution of govern-* " *ment, upon a theory, however plauſible it may* " *be.*"

Mr. Burke's ſpeech on Mr. Fox's Eaſt India bill.

I NEVER can contemplate that blood-ſtained web, which mob,* and Jacobins have conſpired to weave, without ſhuddering at its horrors, and lamenting its advancement; and can ſcarcely forbear exclaiming to my countrymen,

" See the grieſly texture grow!
" 'Tis of human entrails made;
" And the weights, that play below,
" Each, a gaſping warrior's head:"

* An obſolete term, for what is now called the People; derived from *mobile*, a latin word, ſignifying moveable, or unſteady.

 " Shafts,

" Shafts, for ſhuttles, dipp'd in gore,
" Shoot the trembling cords along;
" Sword, that once a Monarch bore,
" Keep the tiſſue cloſe, and ſtrong."*

Indeed, the merit of thoſe motives, which firſt ſtirred the maſs of French, or final tendency of thoſe tumults, which now ſhake their country, I confeſs to be a queſtion, whoſe immenſity overwhelms me. From the exploſions of this chaos, a ſyſtem of beauty may, perhaps, ſtart forth. What may be the event my dim ſight cannot diſcern; what have been the evils, one is not left to doubt: I have means to know, and humanity to regret them.

To France I wiſh happineſs, aud freedom, moſt ſincerely. The accumulation of her knowledge has contributed to my improvement. I connect her with all that is uſeful in ſcience, or elegant in literature. Happineſs, I muſt believe to be the object of her ſearch; and, through conqueſt, or defeat, I wiſh her to attain it.

Nay to that inflexible ſupporter of democracy, whoſe tenets are a model for the *reigning* patriots of France, to Rouſſeau, I am very far from being an enemy. By his glowing eloquence I have been warmed: by his luminous penetration I have been enlightened: by his pathetick powers I have been moved. By his wild chimeras I have not been deluded: by the richneſs of his philanthrophy I have been improved. Let me not refuſe this tribute to his memory; nor con-

* Gray.

ceal

ceal that I have turned, with indulgence, from his faults; and have even ſteeped his diſgraces in my tears: let me not diſavow the perſuaſion which I feel, that Rouſſeau was a man of a benevolent heart. But let thoſe who think him right in his ſpeculations upon government, declare if he be right in his notions on religion.

Yet, whilſt I ſympathize with the miſeries, and wiſh the happineſs of France, I look upon her as the germ of a great example. Let us wait till that example ſhall have been completed: let us wait the "great teacher," Time, * for his deciſion; nor be haſty to import the reality of miſchief, as materials for conſtructing a contingency of benefit.

* Opinionum commenta delet *dies*, naturæ judicia confirmat.—It may not be improper here to remark, that the admiration of the French for their preſent form of government, (aſſuming the fact to be that they hold it in admiration,) will hardly warrant a concluſion in its favour. Nations, like individuals, have their peculiar weakneſſes, which in both caſes are often twined inſeparably with their virtues. Thus the French have need to be admiring; but their admirative organs are not perhaps faſtidious in the choice of food. Whilſt I was at Paris, my coachman drove me to ſee *rue St. Louis*. "C'eſt la plus belle du monde: à *Paris même*, vous ne ſauriez trouver une pareille." At the end of the ſtreet he ſtopped, turning ſo, that from the ſide window I could look it up.—Here, waving his hand with an air of awful conviction, he juſt muttered the exclamation "ſuperbe!"—I looked up a ſtreet that was long and narrow, with mean houſes, bad pavement, the kennel in the middle, and the lamps hung as they uſually are at Paris. Now he, who upon the authority of the coachman, ſhould pronounce this to be the fineſt ſtreet in the world, would ſurely be miſtaken. For his part, after a ſhort ſtay, he turned about, as if he thought ſuch grand objects were not to be contemplated for too long a time, leſt they might ſhake the mind from its centre.

ſt. Let us heſitate to blame the French, or to commend them: let us feel for their misfortunes; rejoice at their proſperity; and profit by their fate.

The experimentaliſt in mechanicks, † who deſerting precedent, ſpeculates upon bold and hazardous improvement, loſes nothing, if he fails, but his time, and his materials: let him therefore venture. But of him, who would ſpeculate in matters of government, 'tis a duty to reject, that the miſery of his ſpecies will be the conſequence of his miſcarriage. Therefore,

——" The art, and practick part of life
" Muſt be the miſtreſs to this theorique. ‡

But, perhaps, the tenuity of ſpeculative advantage will now harden to the palpable conſiſtency of experience: perhaps France is about to propoſe an example, which ſhall proſtrate my theories in favour of mixed government. If it turn out ſo, I ſhall ſubmit myſelf to this chaſtiſement of human pride; and pore humbly upon the leſſon of human fallibility. But let us wait 'till this leſſon be completed: let us wait 'till judgment, profiting by experience, ſhall reviſe her ſyſtem, and inſert the new diſcoveries in her intellectual chart; nor, meantime, prove rebels to that Reaſon, which ſhould guide us; and ſet up an immature example, in her room.

† See Mackintoſh's vindiciæ gallicæ.

‡ Shakſpeare Hen. 5.

The

The practice of the French has been, ever, to invent: of the Engliſh, to ſelect which experiment they will purſue; then, deliberately to follow, where France led the way; and, with accurate diſtruſt, to improve upon her plans. Let us not, in a matter of ſuch moment as our liberties, reſign this national diſtinction of character; nor deviate from a caution, which experience has ſhewn uſeful. The late experiments of the French, in government, reſemble their former attempts, in æroſtation: they have taught liberty to ſoar; but have not yet found means to guide it. 'Till this be done, ſuffer me to cling to my ancient tenets: to doubt as to the prudence of raiſing a ferment in my country, in order to puff out, for vulgar admiration, a flimſy form of government, which wiſdom cannot guide; but which our paſſions and our vices may blow whither they liſt.

Mix'd government, it is true, preſumes viciouſneſs in our nature; and its principles are partly founded in our frailty. It may be therefore thought to tend towards making durable that faultineſs, on which 'tis built: to foſter the exiſtence of what it ſuppoſes to exiſt. Accuſtomed to trace its axioms to our imperfections, we may contract a pernicious familiarity with evil; and decline eradicating what ſeems entwined with the ſocial beauties of cultivated life: what, inſerted in the crevices of a venerable conſtitution, appears to hold that edifice together, which at firſt it ſerved to looſen.

But

But, if the principles of mix'd government preſume on our depravity, it is equally true that they tend to counteract it. Though they ſeem to countenance that broad baſed ſelfiſhneſs, which ſets different ranks at variance with each other, yet they do not ſatisfy the exorbitance of its claims. They will not permit extortion. They force parties to ſoften, mutually, the rigour of their demands. To intereſt, they teach moderation; and extract equity from conflict.

Indeed, the principles of mix'd government, in this reſpect, correſpond with thoſe of all municipal law. They are alike expoſed to the objections I have ſtated. They contemplate the exiſtence, and provide againſt the conſequence of human wickedneſs. They preſume our frailty; and promote our virtue.

If mix'd governments, after all, be relatively faulty, the ſimple ones, on the other hand, are radically defective; and, in every thing human, our choice is between evils. Mix'd government aſſumes nothing, but what certainly exiſts: it is rear'd upon ſteady and ſubſtantial realities: but when ſpeculation has plan'd the ſtructure of a ſimple form, where ſhall we find that virtue, which muſt ſerve it for a baſe? It is no where to be found; and for the effect, which virtuous inclinations would produce, we muſt, in their abſence, have recourſe to law. But law cannot be ſupreme, in a government which is, uncompounded. To the law, as to the man, that ſeeks to govern, the counſel of "divide et impera" may be given.

Therefore

Therefore, ſteadily perſiſting in that preference of mix'd governments, which is founded at once upon reaſon, and experience; and abating nothing in my praiſe of our Britiſh Conſtitution, it will not be foreign from the purpoſe of this paper, nor inconſiſtent with the general object of theſe eſſays, to touch upon that right of petition in the ſubject, which the principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution have conferred: a right, than which none is more neceſſary, or more dangerous: neceſſary, in order to produce a ballance; and dangerous, becauſe ſo liable to be abuſed.

The conſtituent members of the Britiſh nation (ſay the King, the Ariſtocracy, and the People) have, each, a right to ſo much power, as will preſerve the ballance between them all. More than this is not a right, but an uſurpation: an encroachment upon the rights of the nation at large; and therefore, in fact, pernicious to the intereſt of the very party which uſurps; conſidered as a fragment of the whole community. Towards defining of ſubordinate, and partial rights, we muſt therefore keep in view the right paramount in all, to have that ballance undiſturbed, whoſe ſlighteſt trepidation is formidable to public ſafety.

With this principle for our guide, we ſhall eaſily find the limits of the ſubject's right of petition. So ſoon as the petition is clearly a demand; a pietoſa guerra; a war of importunity: ſo ſoon as the petition'd begin to tremble at the prayers, and crouch before the hoſtile humility of ſupplicants; whoſe treacherous meekneſs, and abject audacity

audacity revive the characteriſticks of a tyranny now extinct;—ſo ſoon as the legiſlature may uſe to its petitioners, the language of Cæſar, to the ſuppliants who took his life, "iſta quidem vis eſt," * in that moment, the ballance is deſtroy'd: the conſtitutional proportions are diſtorted to deformity: the ſymmetry of right is grown the monſtrouſneſs of power; and the act, which in form is law, is in ſubſtance treaſon.

With the foregoing remarks upon a point, which ſome late proceedings have made intereſting, I chooſe to terminate this collection. It only remains to make the reader my adieux; which whether they be final, or only temporary, may depend on the reception, with which theſe eſſays meet. I have made my viſit; the public may cultivate an acquaintance, if they will.

But as to the proper mode of taking leave, no reaſonable doubt can, I think, be entertained: for, (to ſlide into a metaphor of more ſuitable importance,) whether I ſhall live to cenſure, and to fame; or be doomed to ſuffer ſilence, and neglect, upon the ſpot; my laſt duties, as a writer, will be ſtill the ſame.

In the one caſe, I ſhould ſeek to make an uſeful end; and call for that religious attention from my hearers, which is due to the laſt words of an expiring author. In the other, thoſe lines which fall lateſt from my pen will be not the laſt

* Suetonius in vitâ Jul. Cæs. c. 82.

to meet my reader's eye; whoſe impatience will be glancing towards that final page, at which it aims; and ſhould there diſcover ſomething, by which attention may be caught.

I ought therefore, in any event, to ſhape my adieux to aphoriſms; and ſprinkle my latter pages with inſtruction.

Adieu! then, gentle reader; and hearken to the counſels, which I offer to your gentleneſs:

You muſt not call unqualified liberty a Good; until you have ſhewn wherein it differs from unbridled power. You muſt not think that change and reformation are ſynonymous; nor, reverſing the old fable, loſe the ſhadow, for the ſubſtance, of deſpotic power. You muſt not bring angelick governments from heaven, to inhabit the groſs atmoſphere of human pollution. You muſt not, from diſlike of that government which you have ſeen, infer capacity of fondneſs for that which you have not ſeen. If the ardour of your youth be panting for perfection, and the richneſs of your fancy teem with ſyſtems of reform, know that in all objects where imagination is infuſed, its operation is to precipitate their dregs; and refine them to a purity, that is beautifully unnatural: but this decompoſition prudence may prevent; or experience will reſtore things to muddineſs, and Nature. If poſſeſſion has hitherto juſtified deſire, continue to hope zealouſly; and to make your caprice the meaſure of your conduct; but if your hopes have made a void, which your enjoyments could not fill; from knowledge of what

is

is paſt, learn doubt of what is to come. Enjoy hope as a preſent benefit: pluck thoſe bloſſoms, which will never grow to fruits. Form your temper upon hope; and your conduct on experience. Adopt it for a maxim, (to frown down reſtleſſneſs withall,) that diſappointment is man's lot; and reſignation his duty:

While Folly pines for bliſs that heaven denies,
Contented Wiſdom what is given enjoys:
To diſtant heights tho' ſoaring Hope aſpire,
And, in bright viſions, Fancy tempt Deſire,
Of Hope, Experience checks the erring flight;
And hues of Fancy fade in Reaſon's light.
As, dipp'd in ſplendours of departing Day,
When ev'ning clouds a glittering ſkirt diſplay,
Whoſe crimſon'd luſtres, kindling into gold,
Fix'd in mute gaze th' enthuſiaſt poet hold,
Seen from afar—th' illuſive glories ſhine,
But, nearer view'd, to ſinking miſts decline;—
Thus, objects oft, by heavenly Fancy dreſs'd,
Blaze while remote,—are vapour when poſſeſs'd.

NUMBER XI.

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1792.

.....

Unreal mockery, hence!

SHAKSPEARE.

TO the maxim, that taſte is not beſtowed upon the many, a neglected author flies for conſolation. He finds the public, indeed, a greater dunce than he expected; but, whilſt his beauties do not paſs undiſtinguiſhed by the few, feels no regret that their luſtre is not tarniſhed by more vulgar approbation. He deems his writings to be ſomewhat by which genius is attracted, and dullneſs repelled; and meaſures by their ſucceſs, not the merit of the work, but capacity of the readers.

To this refuge from neglect I have not yet been driven: for, though I too may boaſt of having pleaſed the few, I have not yet received the ſentence of the many. Scarcely yet a month before the critical tribunal,—the PATRIOT has fairly put himſelf on the country; but the trial ſtill

ſtill depends, which muſt decide upon his fame.

Meantime, encouraged by flattering teſtimonies in his favour, he perſiſts in the diſſemination of thoſe opinions, on whoſe ſoundneſs the public has been choſen to pronounce; and offers to his readers the following inveſtigation.

In the tenth number of theſe eſſays, may be found ſome faint ſketches of the boundary, which confines the conſtitutional Right of Petition in the ſubject. It is there aſſerted, that legiſlators muſt not be terrified by threats, however legal; nor the populace iſſue orders, in the ſhape of prayers:—for legiſlative ſupremacy is eſſential to civil government; and the legiſlature which is awed—has ceaſed to be ſupreme.

Poſſible caſes might indeed, be imagined,—where petition ſhould be formidable; yet conſtitutional withal. To every rule there will be exceptions; and, whilſt the taſk of wiſdom is to ſtate the firſt, the ſport of caſuiſtry is to hint the latter. When the miſchiefs of a meaſure are, at once ſerious, ſudden, and extenſive, the cry which they extort, may be proportionally general, loud, and unexpected; and the legiſlature be ſtunned by the voice of the conſtitution. But of that force by which they awe their government, the populace ſhould not themſelves be conſcious: at leaſt their conduct ſhould not be the reſult of ſuch a conviction. Thoſe acts will be ſeditious, that are dictated by their audacity: they will

will iſſue tainted, from the turbulent motive which produced them.

To that chorus of petition, therefore, which drowns the voice of government, thoſe who form it ſhould be deaf, or the conſtitution is in danger. Their union ſhould be unpremeditated; and proportioned only to the enormity of what produced it: it ſhould not be the long expected iſſue of factious preparation. The cry ſhould be extorted by actual grievance. It ſhould not be the complaint of theory, but of feeling.—It ſhould aſcend from a multitude, languiſhing for relief, not aſpiring at dominion:—in murmurs of oppreſſion, iſſuing ſtraight from the people:—not the clamours of ſedition,—heard in echos from the mob.

It may tend to illuſtrate the ſubject we are upon, to ſtate the ſentiments of a legal writer, who influenced by no political views, but impartially arranging ſcience into ſyſtem, has diſcuſſed the "Rights of Perſons," in a work, the excellence of which is generally allowed.

In the firſt chapter of his commentaries, Blackſtone diſtributes the rights of Engliſhmen* under the following heads, viz.

1ſt. The Right of Perſonal Security:
2dly, The Right of Perſonal Liberty; and
3dly, The Right of Private Property.

Theſe

* *i. e.* Perſons living under the Britiſh Conſtitution.

Theſe he calls the "principal, abſolute rights, "which appertain to every Engliſhman;" and adds, that for their complete protection, the law "has eſtabliſhed certain other auxiliary, ſubor-"dinate rights of the ſubject, viz.

Firſt, The Conſtitution, Powers, and Privileges of Parliament. *

Secondly, The Limitation of the King's Prerogative.

Thirdly, The Right of applying to the Courts of Juſtice, for redreſs of injuries; and

Fourthly, (ſays the commentator) "IF there "ſhould happen any uncommon injury, or in-"fringement of the rights before-mentioned, "which the ordinary courſe of law is too de-"fective to reach, there ſtill remains a fourth "ſubordinate right, appertaining to every indi-"vidual, namely, the right of petitioning the "king, or either houſe of parliament, for the "redreſs of grievances."

* What modern Patriot, except myſelf, would conſent to reckon the privileges of parliament amongſt the Rights of the People?—Parliament! this term I fear includes the Houſe of Lords too within it: So that Blackſtone ſeems to have claſſed the privileges of our peerage amongſt the Rights of our People:—how ill he muſt have underſtood the true principles of our conſtitution! nay, the regal authority (as making a part of the powers of parliament), would rank, by his arrangement, amongſt the Rights of the Subject; and he deſcribes the people as intereſted no leſs in the exiſtence, than limitation, of the King's prerogative. But, worſe than all! O my brethren of Belfaſt! in this ignorant and unfaithful diſpoſition of our rights, a part will be found lurking amongſt the bench of Biſhops!——Yet Blackſtone lived in the eighteenth century!

Shall

Shall petition, thus deſcribed, anticipating grievance, be transformed to an engine of political innovation; a mere vehicle for introducing the caprices of ſpeculation, and rendering our conſtitution as uncertain as our climate? What government, that gave admiſſion to ſo treacherous a principle, could withſtand, for a moment, the irruptions of democracy? The populace being far the moſt numerous rank amongſt us, and conſequently the moſt powerful, whenever they coaleſce, if petition be no more than a contrivance for conveying the pleaſure of a deſpotic mob, to that miniſterial body which we miſcall legiſlature, what is the nature of our boaſted conſtitution? It is a pure, though diſſembled democracy, without doubt. Tyranny, by being latent, is only the more miſchievous: therefore, when I am vindicating the balance of our mingled conſtitution, it is not the formula of ſupplication ſhall content me, if I ſee through it the ſubſtance of deſpotic controul:——"On "voit d'abord, que *s'il vous plait* ſignifie, dans "leur bouche, *il me plait*; et que *Ie vous prie* "ſignifie *Ie vous ordonne.*" *

It is become the faſhion to diſcourſe of this right of petition, as the primary privilege of our people: a gem which ſhould be poliſhed by daily uſe, leſt its luſtre decay. It is no ſuch thing: that conſtitution muſt needs be grievouſly

* Rouſſeau, Emile, Livre 3.—The paſſage may be thus rendered into political Engliſh. "It is eaſy to perceive that the humble Petition, means, the ſovereign Pleaſure; and Your Petitioners ſhall pray, means, Your Rulers will compel.

oppreſſive, which petition is continually toiling to amend; and oppreſſion is not the character of the Britiſh conſtitution.

The reader ſees from Blackſtone, that the right of petition is, in fact, of a nature, auxiliary, and ſubordinate, throwu up as a protection againſt the invaſion of our grand rights, and only to be uſed for the purpoſe of their defence. He finds it claſſed under one head with parliamentary privilege, and with royal prerogative; but placed lower down in the catalogue of our rights, as of leſs frequent uſe, and leſs momentous importance to the welfare of the ſubject. It ſuppoſes the exiſtence of uncommon injury; and conſequent inadequacy of ordinary redreſs. When the neceſſity for legiſlative ſupremacy was ſeen, petition was deviſed as a ſuccedaneum for appeal, and in its conſtitutional nature is as modeſt, as in name.

It is not hard to imagine caſes, to which this right may be applied; nor to conceive how it grew converſant about matters of government. A legiſlative act, which whilſt it creates oppreſſion, choaks thoſe ſources of redreſs, that juriſprudence might afford, gives a proper opportunity for the exerciſe of this privilege; but in the refuſal of their requeſt, the people ſhould ſee nothing more ſerious, than a diſappointment; the legiſlature nothing which ſhould operate to diſmay them: or if the Houſe of Commons be the branch that is petitioned, no worſe conſequence ſhould ariſe from their inflexibility, than that harmleſs

harmleſs vengeance, to which the next general election may expoſe them.

I ſpeak not of thoſe extraordinary caſes, which involve a violation of the original compact; and annihilate my diſcuſſions, with the conſtitution, which gave them birth.

For, whether the people are warranted in recurring to firſt principles, and looking for redreſs to the ancient right of ſtrength; and are laudable for concealing their robuſt demands, beneath the conſtitutional garb of a petition, may, undoubtedly, form a queſtion, on which inquiry can be turned; and whoſe ſolution will depend on the circumſtances of the caſe. But the menacing ſtillneſs of ſuch gloomy moderation, I never can confound with the ſerenity of petition; nor diſcern through it, the exerciſe of that regulated right, conferred upon the ſubject, by the Britiſh conſtitution: for the ſpirit of this is a balance, which ſuch proceedings would deſtroy. And they are merely conſtitutional privileges, of which I treat. The humility of my diſcuſſion does not wiſh to ſoar beyond them.

To obſerve the extent, then, of a right, ſo formidable as this of petition,—to preſage its inſinuation into the arcana of government,—to diſcern its neceſſity, and expoſure to abuſe,— leſs wiſdom was required than helped to frame our conſtitution. To provide againſt all the miſchiefs which foreſight could point out, exceeded, perhaps, the competence of human prudence.

Our anceſtors knew the danger of a coaleſcing mob: the terrible coincidence of their raſhneſs and their power: the ruinous unanimity, with which their ignorance ruſhes forward: yet in regions ſo tempeſtuous they agreed to lodge a right, which ſhould tend to point thoſe ſtorms againſt the ſtructure of civil government. Their wiſdom ſaw the riſk; but in behalf of liberty—their patriotiſm incurred it.

Yet, aware how efficacious are the prayers of the powerful, they ſought to give petition its ſole origin in grievance; and not ſuffer it to ſtart from the mere wantonneſs of ſtrength.

When the lower ranks were growing into conſequence, the inſolence of their newly acquired power would betray itſelf in tumultuary petition. Thus it happened at the opening of the memorable parliament in 1640. Againſt the repetition of ſuch an evil, the inſtructed conſtitution would naturally provide: for inſtance, by an act that, "no petition to the King, or "either houſe of parliament, for any *alteration* "*in church or ſtate*, ſhould be ſigned by above "twenty perſons, unleſs the *matter thereof were* "*approved* by three juſtices of the peace, or the "major part of the grand jury * in the country; "and in the metropolis by the Lord Mayor, Al-"dermen, and Common-Council; nor any pe-"tition *be preſented by more than ten perſons at* a "time.

* This notice taken by the legiſlature of Grand Juries, it may not be amiſs at this time to recollect.

So

So it was done in England, by Stat. 13. Car. 2. St. 1. c. 5. ſec. 2. which ſought to guard againſt the riotouſneſs of numbers, the ſpeculations of extravagant, or ſelfiſh theoriſts, and the innovating raſhneſs of an uninformed vulgar.

From the ſtigma of ſuch a law, *our* country is yet free. The violence of *our* populace is not put upon record; and ſhall we not keep clear of this legiſlative reproach? Shall we not regulate our conduct by the principles of the conſtitution, without waiting for the check of a diſgraceful ſtatute, which if ever it ſhall paſs, may be truly deemed declaratory?

It is not in a ſearch through ſimilar laws, enacted on the ſpur of particular occaſions, that we ſhould hope to find the meaſure of conſtitutional right. Their uſe is to record the contrivances of faction; and by making that illegal, which was treaſonable before, to arm the judicature for the protection of the ſtate. † They are founded themſelves on thoſe eſſential principles, which form the ſpecific character of our conſtitution: and by its conſiſtency with which, or by the contrary, the validity of each political claim may be decided.

And this immediate reference to the elements of our conſtitution, in determining as to the exiſtence of any political privilege, is the more neceſſary, becauſe though the law barred up one

† This is all that enacting ſtatutes do: declaratory ſtatutes are ſtill more confined in their operation.

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vent to the wantonneſs of power, it would iſſue with more ſilent prudence, through ſome other. The legiſlature muſt meet it with new reſtraints; and the *Patriot* encounter it with new ſpeculations.

Suppoſe I ſpy the ingenuity of Faction, inventing a new diſguiſe for exorbitant pretenſions; eſcaping from our ſtatutes, in the garb of ſtrict decorum, and lurking beneath the orderlineſs of a repreſentative ſyſtem: Shall I heſitate to apprize my countrymen of the fraud? Shall I not ſtrip the gilding off this knave? To omit it would be treaſon againſt my dignity of Patriot.

A delegation, then, from all quarters of our iſland, of proxies who ſhall exerciſe the ſubjects right of petition, and who, opening to each other their diſpatches of diſcontent, ſhall exert the ingenuity of factious computation, 'till from rates of oppreſſion they ſtrike an average of grievance: who ſhall then adapt their prayers to the ills they have adjuſted; and iſſue an humble edict to Parliament for relief;— I pronounce to be unconſtitutional; without conſulting the ſtatute book.

Whilſt the ſcattered inhabitants of an extenſive country, in their individual capacity petition the legiſlature, their complaints will be uſually proportioned to their wrongs: they will relate to injuries which come home to them; and matters that do not lie beyond their capacity: their

their cry will not be formidable, but when the government is very faulty.

A petition was received from the extremity of the North: another came from the South, begging ſimilar redreſs. Between theſe diſtant quarters no intercourſe was held; the illuſions of delegation were yet unknown. The reſemblance of complaint proved fairly to the legiſlature, the reality, and extent of thoſe miſchiefs, which produced it. The potentates of the North and South had not combined, to meaſure their joint ſtrength with that of the government: their petitions coincided, becauſe the evil was a common one.

But now the caſe is altered. The ſubjects have formed their political alliances, and every petition commits them with their parliament. They deign not now to regulate their requeſts by their occaſions; but ſcrew them up to all the extravagance of deſires. Every ſpeculative doubt is become a grievance: the conſtitution muſt flutter in the ſcepticiſm of the moment; muſt ſhift with every guſt of changeable opinion.

From the perils which ariſe out of *ſuch* popular coalition, let us turn to the delegated body which effects it.

If the people may at any time, they may at all times, elect theſe repreſentative ſearchers for oppreſſion: may have permanent ſeſſions of theſe proxy petitioners.

For,

For, whether they are aggrieved, the people are to judge. When the grievance is once ſtarted, petition muſt hunt it down; and a regular pack of delegates may be kept for this purpoſe.

Here then we ſee a body, appointed to keep watch over the intereſts of the people. Is this, or is it not, the province of our parliament? Are the delegates a ſecond parliament, or the ſole one?—And in either caſe, what becomes of the conſtitution?

Between the high court of parliament, and high court of petition, a jeu de mots may be found to give the only diſtinction: the former is aſſembled to repreſent the people; the latter are convened to miſrepreſent the conſtitution.

Sent forth to groan over miſeries not their own, they do not feel that ſentiment which would fix them to their taſk; but will ſeek to turn their office to their own advantage. Meantime they want thoſe uſeful ſympathies, which happily ſupply the place of virtue. Their views of greatneſs lye without our conſtitution. Between them, and our eſtabliſhment, there is no communion of intereſts, to counteract their depravity, and make their ſelfiſhneſs innoxious: to diſable them from devoting their conſtituents for themſelves, though they ſhould not lack the baſeneſs which might prompt them to attempt it. In this reſpect they differ from a conſtitutional parliament; and are on this account unfit for the power which thoſe poſſeſs, of whom each man has a rabble of electors at his beck. They repreſent neither

neither the wealth, nor wiſdom, nor true power of the nation: They are the virtual repreſentatives not even of its grievance; but of its diſorder: a conclave of ſlaves' ſlaves, * at once the creatures and the tyrants of the mob. Inveſted, in the firſt of theſe capacities, with their violence, and wielding this engine of deſtruction, in the ſecond, their corps compoſe a ſeminary for the miſchievous ambition of precarious, unaccuſtomed, and ill founded authority: a pernicious academy, where the multitude may learn to exaggerate grievance, and concentrate power.

Theory, not feeling—is now the meaſure of diſcontent: Inſolence, not injury the motive to remonſtrance: ſelf aggrandiſement the object of the delegated council: that ſabbath of political enchanters, met together to conjure up phantoms of oppreſſion, and fright the people into madneſs by thoſe viſionary monſters.

In behalf of the Roman Catholicks, who have openly expoſed themſelves to the cenſure of this Patriot, I yet would obſerve, that their meaſures may be improper, without their intentions being miſchievous; and where this is the caſe, the former ſhould not be weighed with too ſcrupulous exactneſs.

But let their preſent conduct be redeemed by their future; and juſtified upon the peculiarity of their ſituation: let it be admitted as an ex-

* An old periphraſis for Tyrant.

ception,

ception, not as a precedent. It were blindneſs not to ſee, and baſeneſs not to publiſh, that the Catholicks have ſuffered their cauſe to be connected with perſons, and with principles, highly adverſe to our conſtitution: That their acts have taken place at a ſuſpicious period; and bear an awkward reſemblance to what lately paſſed elſewhere.

Let the Catholicks reſpect that venerable conſtitution, whoſe foundations were laid by thoſe of their own church; and in whoſe privileges they will ſoon have ſo intimate an intereſt: Let them haſten to detach themſelves from their enemies the factious; and in every true *Patriot*, they will find a friend.

NUMBER XII.

.....

SATURDAY, JANUARY 5, 1793.

.....

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE CONSTITUTION, LIBERTY, AND PEACE.

—Pater ut gnati, ſic nos debemus amici
Si quod ſit vitium, non faſtidire.

HOR. LIB. I. SAT. 3.

Are you a friend? your mild, and partial eye
Should palliate faults, and virtues magnify.

AS I am no partiſan, there will be found in my preſent letter, a neutrality, which may diſguſt the factious, of all deſcriptions. But I worſhip that monſter in politicks, called moderation; and want the gluttony, which ſwallows meaſures, without farther inquiry, than the quarter from whence they come. I have a morbid diſcernment, which abſtracts principle from party, and can conceive the interpoſition of ſpace, between extremes. Yet (ſtranger ſtill,) I heſitate to admit that every thing is a medium, which is not an extreme; or that Moderation is a point, ſituate midway, between Truth, and Falſehood.

Therefore,

Therefore, the reader ſhall not find in me *that* ſilly neutrality, which continually ſuſpended between contrary doctrines, does not feel the predominant influence of any: this paper is rather an avowal of my principles; or a corollary to propoſitions, contain'd in thoſe which have preceded. But, in claſſing of men and meaſures, conformably to my ſyſtem, I may be allowed to doubt: heſitation may be even a uſeful leſſon to teach my readers.

By the title which you have choſen, thoſe analogies are let in, from whence a parallel is drawn between private friendſhips, and ſuch conſtitutional attachments as you profeſs: it is therefore I apply to you that monitory diſtich, in which Horace has ſketch'd the characteriſticks of Friendſhip. Indeed the mode of expreſſion, by which we ſtyle ourſelves the friends of an eſtabliſhment we live under—illuſtrates briefly. It ſuggeſts that partial, and neceſſary fondneſs, which ſteps in, when fickleneſs affects to reaſon, and ſecures us from diſguſts, that would otherwiſe be raiſed by the infirmities of men, or of eſtabliſhments which are only the work of men.

Attachment may, (perhaps) originally ſpring from a compariſon of the faults and merits of its object; and a warranted concluſion of preponderance in the latter;—but when grown to that maturity which we denominate friendſhip, this weighing and comparing is ſure to have an end: attention is then fixed upon the virtuous ſcale; and habit concurs with reaſon, to keep the other out

out of ſight. Conformable to theſe maxims is the account which Horace gives; and it is remarkable that, in this inſtance, he beſtows upon Partiality, an equitable character, to which it ſeldom can lay claim.

Amicus dulcis, ut æquum *eſt,*
Cum mea compenſet vitiis bona: pluribus hiſce,
(Si modo plura mihi bona ſunt) inclinet.

When weighty virtues o'er our faults prevail,
See friendly juſtice ſink the turning ſcale.

And he adds the reaſon: making the leaning which he preſcribes, a mere neceſſary allowance for inevitable imperfection:

Nam vitiis nemo ſine naſcitur: optimus ille eſt,
Qui minimis urgetur.

A faultleſs conſtitution ne'er has been:
Ev'n in our own, ſome human ſpecks are ſeen.

There is no friendſhip without ſome blindneſs: a piercing diſcernment of every thing like defect; and pitileſs expoſure of whatever is detected, if it be not the conduct which characteriſes enmity, is certainly not that which belongs to friendſhip.

There is no friendſhip without confidence,* and eſteem; and the government, or the man,

* Luckily, this branch of my aſſertion does not require that proof, which I am not at preſent, at leiſure to go into.

which,

which, meriting *reſpect*, is in the trammels of one, that ſtudiouſly gives his treatment a character of *indulgence*, and oſtentatiouſly makes allowance for pretended imbecilities,—is a victim, whoſe deſtiny may be eaſily divined. If you do not break your chains; ſuch a friend will break your heart. Let every eſtimable man ſhuffle off, without delay, this domeſtick tyranny, which is ruinous, in its conſequences; and which he that practices is an ideot, or an impoſter. Therefore, if whilſt you profeſs to reſpect the conſtitution, your diſcourſe announces rather a contemptuous indulgence, which you are not either able, or ſolicitous to juſtify, you will lead us to ſuſpect that you are not what you ſeem.

If your account of it to the public, repreſents an eſtabliſhment, ſo waſted by corruption, and inveterate abuſes, that its inherent ſtrength cannot operate a cure, without ſubmitting to the preſcriptions of that empiric * you call people;† you are reduced to the awkward alternative, of confeſſing that your profeſſions are untrue, or your affections ill-beſtowed.

* Steel is the ſpecific, that is uſually exhibited by this ſtate phyſician. It was adminiſtered at Paris with great effect, on the tenth of Auguſt, and ſecond of September. It is ſaid, ſome parcels of this medicine are arrived in England. To prevent impoſition, none is genuine but what is inſcribed, Noking, (the name of the maker we preſume:) whether the proprietors of this mineral balſam, have obtained the royal patent, I am not yet informed.

† But which is not the people.

Beſides,

Beſides, the expedient is ſo obvious, of uſurping the name of friend, for the invidious purpoſe of giving currency to ſlander,

(*"Tuta, frequenſque via eſt, per amicum fallere nomen"*:*)

that a ſociety, profeſſing amity to the conſtitution, ſhould purſue conduct that may exempt it from ſuſpicion, and diſtruſt.

And let me obſerve that, if your title but ſerved to maſk your enmity, though your calumnies, conſiſting leſs of fiction, than exaggeration, ſhould point to real blemiſhes in the frame of our government, or conduct of our rulers, they might be not the leſs calumnies, on this account. For, after this manner, Defamation very commonly proceeds: and with reaſon; ſince, by exaggerating, we can, not only render defects obſervable, but are even able to transform merits into faults: for,

Mala ſunt vicina bonis: errore ſub illo,
Pro vitio, Virtus crimina ſæpe tulit. †

Rumour need only ſtretch a quality, 'till it become exceſſive, towards forming a baſis, for conſtructing calumny upon. Why ſ therefore *invent?* when by reaſon of the ſlight boundaries, that diſtinguiſh faultineſs from virtue, we can

* Ovid.

† Ibid. The ſame thing is alſo noticed, (in a particular inſtance) by Horace, lib. 1. Epiſt. 18.

——— *Plerumque modeſtus*
Occupat obſcuri ſpeciem: taciturnus acerbi.

give

give to calumny, an air of truth; and can ſlander with ſuch credit, and effect, by mere *exaggeration*. How was Fabius Maximus ſlandered by his lieutenant? "*pro cunctatore, ſegnem, et* "*cauto, timidum, affingens vicina virtutibus vitia,* "*compellabat.*"*

Neither can I approve of that cenſorial ‡ friendſhip, which is continually exalting its profeſſors into patrons. It is the offspring of an arrogance, that is uſually ill-founded: a modification of that pernicious appetite for dominion, which unfortunately ſeems interwoven in our nature: a domeſtick tyranny, which vanity has invented; and which, epitomizing the deceitful ſyſtems that now prevail, by prating of equality, makes oppreſſion the more grievous.

I wiſh therefore to diſcover in your conduct, and profeſſions, an attachment to the conſtitution; and not a mere endurance of it. This will demand of you a check'd diſcernment, that does not take delight in laying bare its faults; and calling off the publick attention from its beauties. Neither ſhould your friendſhip wear that arrogant deportment, by which its object is degraded; (for we may deign to be protectors, where we ſhould ſcorn to be friends:) but ſhould be tender and reſpectful; and ſuited to the dignity of our noble conſtitution: not dictating correction; but ſuggeſting improvement.

* Livy.

‡ Or the reader, if he pleaſes, may correct this to cenſorious.

The

The conſtitution is not driven to ſuch deſperate neceſſities, that ſhe is forced to accept your friendſhip on diſgraceful terms: upon the terms of hearing faults exaggerated beyond meaſure: of being expoſed to the cenſures, or inſults of a mob: of undergoing changes, that muſt diſtort the ſymmetry, which is her boaſt, and operate at laſt, to her inevitable deſtruction: of being ſaved from the upliſted daggers of ſedition, on the terms of taking poiſon, adminiſter'd by her protectors. The conſtitution can have friends, upon much cheaper terms. Offer honourable conditions, if you would gain the glory of her alliance.

When you ſo properly confeſs, that "your "diſguſt, at corruption, ſhould not render you in-"ſenſible to the evils of faction;" and talk of "ſome ſpirits, inflammable, and inconſiderate, "that overlook the horrors attendant on com-"motion;" I would propoſe this queſtion to your readers, or yourſelves, whether an alluſion was intended to the united Iriſhmen? whether, in your opinion, an "inflammable ſpirit" pervades that body? ſo ſoon as I was reſolved, I might go on to aſk, whether you have admitted any of that ſociety, amongſt you? whether you have admitted any, who ſubſcribe their publications? whether you patronize men arreſted for ſedition? whether you countenance thoſe calumniated patriots, whom the proclamation of our council denominates "ill-affected?" *

* Yeſterday the proprietors of the Northern Star were elegantly entertained at dinner, by a number of the friends to the conſtitution, liberty, and peace.

HIBERN. JOURNAL.

When I ſay that there is a conduct, from which ſo ſoon as you ſhall deviate, you muſt forfeit the title of friends to the conſtitution, I candidly mean to influence your meaſures: when I ſtate thoſe ſuſpicions which may be entertained, I do not mean to charge you with whatever can be imputed.

It might however be conjectured that, the prevalence of loyalty having diſcredited the efforts of undiſguiſed ſedition, and plunged the united Iriſhmen into merited contempt, the path to innovation muſt now be more circuitous: the conſtitution muſt be attempted in the way of ambuſcade Is not the very ſociety, which I have mentioned, forced to narrow its wicked principles, in order to retrieve its credit with even faction; and to inform us, that by equality, is only meant ſubordination? which is equivalent to the aſſerting that a bowling green ſignifies a flight of ſteps.

As to redreſs of grievance being the object of your ſearch, your ill wiſhers may laugh at ſuch profeſſions, unleſs the tone of your conduct will defy deriſion: they may addreſs you in the language of our famous Shakſpeare, reproaching Inſurrection, with its ſtale pretences.

" Theſe things, indeed you have articulated,
" Proclaim'd at market croſſes, read in churches;
" To face the garment of Rebellion
" With ſome fine colour, that may pleaſe the eye
" Of fickle changelings, and poor diſcontents,
" Which gape, and rub the elbow, at the news

" Of

" Of hurly burly innovation:
" And never yet did Inſurrection want
" Such water colours, to impaint his cauſe;
" Nor moody beggars, ſtarving for a time
" Of pell mell havock, and confuſion.

This letter having grown to an unexpected length, I ſhall here break off; and publiſh the remainder, in my thirteenth number.

Mean time, inſtead of being indignant at what I have ſuggeſted, you ought, by the loyalty of your conduct, to frown ſuch injurious ſuſpicions out of countenance; and diſable the Genius of the Britiſh conſtitution from thus addreſſing you, with reference to your title, and in the language of the Roman Poet:

Quid facies odio, ſic ubi amore noces?
Si lædis quod amas, hoſtem ſapienter amabis:
Me precor, ut ſerves, perdere velle velis. †

† Ovid.

NUMBER XIII.

.....

SATURDAY, JANUARY 12, 1793.

.....

LETTER

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE CONSTITUTION, CONTINUED.

—Alias juſtum ſit, necne, poema,
Nunc illud tantum quœram, *meritone tibi ſit*
Suſpectum genus hoc ſcribendi.

HOR. LIB. I. SAT. 4.

Of ſuch fine writing who the genus knows?
It may be poetry: it is not proſe:
Let others claſs the ſtuff; while I inquire,
If genuine feeling ſuch bombaſt inſpire.

I RISK nothing in ſuppoſing that, of your aſſociation, ſome members are influenced by ill motives, and others actuated by honourable views;—and that it will equally admit of another diviſion, founded on the proportions of its wiſdom and its folly: ſuch is the nature of the beſt ſocieties.

From

From hence a queſtion will ariſe: whether the wiſdom and virtue, to be found in yours, predominate at preſent; and whether ſuch predominance is likely to be laſting: and this is a matter, on which I am not well informed.

All confederations are liable to be abuſed; and ſome are more expoſed to abuſe, than others. If, from the frame and conſtitution of yours, it can be eaſily perverted to evil purpoſes, the factious will uſe diligeuce to bring about this end. They will come into terms with you at firſt, in order to maſter you at laſt: they will be moderate, in order to be miſchievous with effect.

It is ſaid that the preſent is a time for ſpeaking out: I incline to think ſo; and if it be, men ſhould not only ſpeak aloud, but chooſe a ſituation, from whence they will be heard. But from this expediency of ſpeaking out, it is inferred, that we ſhould enroll ourſelves amongſt political aſſociations, if we do but acquieſce in their profeſſions of faith; and can ſubſcribe the declaration, that is appointed for their teſt: now this I cannot admit.

If it be proper to ſpeak out, and that by ſtanding as an unit, I am more likely to be heard, than by becoming a ſmall fraction of ſome large ſociety; I ſhould keep ſteadily aloof from all ſuch bodies, whoſe ſentiments, and practice, in the main, experience had not proved to be conformable with my own.

The

The moſt unequivocal avowal of general principles is but ſlight ſecurity for the conduct of thoſe who make it; though, waiving all ſuſpicions of their ſincerity, we give them credit for the extreme of honeſty, and candour. Principles are only operative, from their capacity of being applied; and concerning their application, what conflicts will ariſe, between perſons, who are thoroughly agreed about the axioms! that deciſion on each particular caſe, that conduct in each particular ſituation, which one man thinks to flow immediately from thoſe principles, another will maintain to be in obvious violation of them.

To ſettle theſe debates, and put the body into motion, it is neceſſary that the power of a majority be called in: of this majority ſuppoſe you ſeldom ſhould make one;—your opponents will ſoon learn the nature of their ſtrength: your diſcuſſions are cut ſhort, by their calling for "the "queſtion;" (which is the formula of appeal to folly, or corruption:) their meaſures are commonly ſuppoſed to have your concurrence; and opinions, which would have reached the public, if you ſtood alone, are drowned in the clamours of your adverſary brethren.

But though by agreeing upon principles, you go a very little way towards eradicating variance, yet, unleſs you co-operate with the majority of your fellows, you may be found to have gone far towards diſcrediting yourſelf. You have loſt of your integral, and individual ſtrength; and the multitude, which miſtakes diſcrimination for mere

mere levity, will look upon you as a perſon on whom there is no relying, if, weary of diſſention, you withdraw from that ſociety, which will not fail, (towards weakening your oppoſition,) to enforce, with diligence, the charge of inconſiſtency. †

However ſmall their proportion be at firſt, the factious, the noiſy, and the ſuperficial, are apt to grow inſenſibly to a majority: at leaſt to engroſs the influence, and dictate the proceedings, in all ſimilar aſſemblies: and this, in conſequence of the cabal, the aſſiduity, the prompt arrogance, or enterpriſing folly, which characteriſe their ſects. They are not hampered by thoſe embarraſſments, into which Reaſon ſo cruelly betrays her followers: thoſe preliminary doubts, in which Truth entangles Zeal. They gain the confidence of a multitude, as headſtrong as themſelves; and hurry us into meaſures, whilſt we are canvaſſing their expediency: whilſt we are loitering amongſt doubts, and balancing contradictions. I dwell the longer on this ſubject, from knowing that wiſe and good men may give an influence to ſocieties, at their commencement, which, in their degeneracy, is applied to work publick injury.

† The publick is apt to deſpiſe a man, who is not true to his cauſe: that is to ſay, who will ſtop at any baſeneſs, or abſurdity, in which the party, where he is enliſted, is willing to engage. To merit publick confidence, he muſt go through thick and thin; and juſtle down every truth, that obſtructs his paſſage: this is rectitude.

Let

Let thoſe whom I addreſs, then be upon their guard. Let their ſenſe and moderation give the check in time. If I go arm in arm, to the brink of a precipice, with a companion whoſe madneſs impels him to the plunge, my forbearance will ſtand me in little ſtead. I am hurried down along with him, before I can make reſiſtance. I ſhould have ſtopped ſooner: or I ſhould have walked alone. Truſt me, the regions of political reform abound in precipices; and are dimly lighted. If you wander there at all, every ſtep ſhould be taken with caution; and every guide be followed with diſtruſt: eſpecially if he tell you that the journey is not dangerous.

But in your principles, even as ſtated, I muſt confeſs myſelf not thoroughly to acquieſce. That I do not, may be gathered from my paſt numbers, in which I have uniformly inculcated the neceſſity of balance, towards the excellence of government; and have treated as deſpotiſm, the preponderance of power, whether in the Prince, the nobles, or the people.

Now therefore as to your *addreſs*; and incidentally, as to my own opinions: premiſing, (with a view to the unity of my letter, and by way of reference to thoſe analogies, which are ſtated at its commencement; †) that, however benevolent the diſpoſitions of the party, yet where there is no acquaintance, there can be little friendſhip; and that your addreſs by no

† In Number XII.

means

means argues a thorough knowledge of our constitution; unless I mistake its principles.

Let me wander, for a time, from more important matter, to remark upon the rhetorical style which you have chosen: I think imprudently. It suits but ill with rational conviction; and disfigures the grave subject, it was chosen to adorn.

I can allow for those motives, which would prompt you to invite the confidence of the people, by an eloquent vindication of the free spirit of our constitution; and animated invective against profligacy, and corruption: but this indulgence will not justify false glitter; nor obviate the charge, which I now bring against you, that your address is rather calculated to dazzle, than enlighten:* neither would it have bewildered you in that confusion of metaphor, which represents a "gradation" "kindling talents;" an exploit, which before this "gradation" could perform, it seems necessary that incendiaries should set society in flames. †

Into

* When you call on every man to join you, "whether "he prefer liberty to peace, or peace to liberty," you dazzle me so with this slight-of-hand writing; this "fly away "jack, and come again jill;" that I cannot tell what it is you are about.

——————————" *hinc* vos,
" Vos *hinc* mutatis discedite partibus: eia!"
I see liberty, and peace, twinkling before my eyes; but scarce know which is which. I am in the situation of Ulysses: Μαρμαρυγας θετο ποδῶν· θαυμωξ δὲ θυμῷ.

† "Does he love that beautiful gradation of society, "which gives to toil, and talents, and virtue, their stations, "and

Into the adoption of a ſtyle, which I think too inflated, you were poſſibly betrayed, by the empty grandeur † of ſome late publications; where

" and their forms; which kindles them where they were " not, and rewards them where they are."

† " Citizen ſoldiers to arms! take up the ſhield of free- " dom; and the pledge of peace: by liberty, we never " underſtood unlimited freedom; nor by equality the de- " ſtruction of ſubordination:" (which is inequality:) " li- " berty is the exerciſe of all our rights natural; and equa- " lity is the extent of the conſtituent to the fulleſt dimen- " ſions of the conſtitution:" (a definition I preſume, ſug- geſted by a taylor:) " if our conſtitution be imperfect, no- " thing but a reform in repreſentation will rectify its abuſes; " if it be perfect, nothing but the ſame reform" (that is, a reform in the moſt eſſential part of a thing already perfect:) " will perpetuate its bleſſings. All ſoldiers ſhould remem- " ber that ſeduction made them ſoldiers; but Nature made " them men. In four words lies all our power: uni- " verſal emancipation: and repreſentative legiſla- " ture." (that is a right in every beggar-man to vote: a republican form of government; and a national aſſembly.) " We therefore wiſh for catholic emancipation, without " any modification:" (therefore, that is, from no ſort of love to the catholics, ſtill leſs to the monarchial principles which they profeſs; but merely in conformity to our ſedi- tious principles, and the humour of our ſociety to ſquander privilege: prodigus & ſtultus donat quod ſpernit:) " but " ſtill we conſider this neceſſary infranchiſement, as mere- " ly the portal to the temple of freedom. Wide as this " entrance is, wide enough to admit three millions, it is " narrow;" (O! moſt capacious narrowneſs!) " when " compared to the capacity of our beloved principle" (of ſubverſion;) " which takes in" (an equivocal expreſſion:) " every individual of the Iriſh nation;" (including the band † of rioters in the county of Louth.) " fourteen long " years are elapſed, &cet.! in this interval how many nati- " ons have gotten, &cet.! how many of our countrymen " have ſunk into, &cet.!" da capo.

To

† itſ, he would have ſaid.

where, as ſoon as we have ſurmounted their worthy entrenchments, by the gleam of metaphors we diſcern the ſolitude, which every where ſurrounds us. The camp is deſerted: no arguments to be found in the paragraphs which ſhould lodge them: no facts that are zealous in the cauſe they are preſſed to ſerve. Controverſy looks in vain for an enemy to encounter.—With Horace's proclamation againſt bombaſt before their eyes, how can their authors expect to fix attention, or intereſt our feelings, by ſuch turkey-cock dignity?

Telephus & Peleus, cum pauper, & exſul uterque,
Projicit ampullas, & ſeſquipedalia verba;
Si curat cor ſpectantis tetigiſſe querela. †

To ſuch ſubordinate undertakings as that I am engaged in, the ornaments of diction are perhaps allowable; in order to evade the obſtinacy of a reader, and inſinuate inſtruction into a mind that is inflamed. But when a ſociety invites the publick, to concur in an attempt of no leſs magnitude, than the reform of that government, on whoſe well being depends the happineſs of millions, they do not need ſuch ſubſidiary in-

To this compoſition may be applied, what was formerly remarked of the oratory of one, who had, like our ſociety, "lites cum *Rege* moleſtas!"

——————"Ruebat
"Flumen ut *Hibernum*,"
(Let us finiſh the line, before it becomes inapplicable)
"fertur quo rara *ſecuris*."

† Though as individuals theſe men were reſpectable; and the cauſe of their complainings, actual and grievous.

ducements

dreements: their language ſhould be ſimple, preciſe, and clear. It is not enough to ſay that they ſhould reject thoſe ornaments, which ſhould not even offer themſelves to their fancy, for acceptance. Their addreſs will be eloquent, if their aſſociation was well-timed. Its eloquence will conſiſt in the ſimple enumeration of great, and obvious truths: the natural complainings of men really oppreſſed: the honeſt out-cries of virtue againſt corruption; and the temperate firmneſs of invaded freedom.

But now to matters of more importance.

And firſt, let me not be told that, at this time, we ſhould ſooth an exaſperated people. We ſhould not foſter thoſe exorbitant claims, which an exaſperated people is provoked to make. It is for this reaſon I object to that part of your addreſs, in which it is pronounced, with ſo much exultation, that "there is no human "power which can reſiſt an object, when the "people, with an united, ſolemn, and determined voice, ſhall pronounce, WE WILL IT."

Such is the ſum, and ſcope of your aſſertion; for as to your qualifications, of reaſonableneſs in the object; and unlawfulneſs in the reſiſtance; † they are quite inoperative: it muſt be becauſe the

† "There is no human power that can lawfully, or "ſucceſsfully, reſiſt this reaſonable, conſtitutional, and "now indiſpenſible object; if THE PEOPLE, with an "united, ſolemn, and determined voice, pronounce, "we "will it."

Addreſs of the friends of the Conſtitution, &c.

people

people are powerful, that they ſhall thus inevitably obtain what is the object of their choice; and the extent of their power is neither narrowed, nor encreaſed, by the quality of their demands. Beſides, of the reaſonableneſs of their own choice, the people themſelves are left to judge. Thus, wherever "hoc volo, hoc "jubeo,"—is expreſſed; the "ſtet pro ratione "voluntas" is underſtood. All qualifications are inſidious, or abſurd.

What you aſſert then may be true; yet, to aſſert it at this time, be ſomething worſe than inexpedient. It is very true that our liberties are threatened; but you ſeem to have forgotten, that one of their invaders is this new-raiſed phantom, which calls itſelf THE PEOPLE; and which is not the populus, but the plebs of our country.

If I acquieſce in your poſition, I cannot ſhare your joy; at leaſt not without qualifying it with ſome ugly apprehenſions. A conviction in the people, (I have defined your term) that their will muſt be the law, is competent, I admit, to the operation of a great, and uſeful change: more ſudden, and complete, than, perhaps, could be produced amid the peaceful conflict of balanced powers. But this efficacy is not peculiar: it is eſſential to all power that is deſpotick; † and in ſuch popular ſupremacy, I cannot ſee a ſource of permanent advantage; or rational exultation.

† That is, uncontrould.

In

In thinking of a nation, (that poliſhed creature of ſocial life,) I am far from confining myſelf to the contemplation of its *numbers:* I cannot diſcharge from my conſideration thoſe other qualities, which are at leaſt as eſſential. I mean its wealth, its induſtry: its talent, its wiſdom:† its dignity and virtue; its true and permanent power: which latter does not conſiſt in the ſudden ſhock, or temporary union of conſenting paſſions; but in that due conciliation, and nice adjuſtment of its thwarting intereſts, which laſtingly gives it a corporate exiſtence, and conſolidated force.

If a claim be preſented in the name of the people, I will analyſe the maſs, on which this title is beſtowed. If I find it to contain that compound quality, of majority in the ſeveral ingredients I have mentioned, I will acknowledge it for that national corporation, called the people; and will conclude that its deſires aim at general utility; but if I find it wanting in thoſe eſſential qualities; and reſting all claim upon the circumſtance of numbers, I ſhall degrade it to its proper epithet, of mob. I may tremble at its power; but never can conſent to recognize its authority,

This I take to be the ſentiment of the Britiſh conſtitution; and the true foundation of its mingled nature. By means of this mixture, it is curiouſly contrived, that, of the genuine people, (that maſs of numbers, and of the various attributes

† This is not tautology.

butes of poliſh and cultivation, †) ſupremacy ſhall circulate through all the parts; and to all intents of political energy, this mighty corporation ſhall be one.

For beſides that portion of political dominion, which conſiſts in the democratick rights, and privileges, (and which ſeems related with the quality of numbers in a ſtate,) the authority of king, of lords, and commons, are all component parts of the people's power. The three eſtates repreſent the whole people.

To repel invaſion, either foreign or domeſtick: to arbitrate between contending powers: to deliver over the ſuſpected to the inquiry of the law: to put the national will in execution: to call forth merit, and enliſt it in public ſervice; or embelliſh it with rank, as an encouraging example: to raiſe ambitious talent, ſafely into greatneſs; to faſcinate ſedition, and miſchievous intrigue, by the view of diſtinctions compatible with publick ſafety.

To throw up an entrenchment round honours when conferred: to cheriſh and protect the hereditary principle; and keep guard upon the eminences of cultivated life: to ſecure dignity from envy; and opulence from rapine.

To manage œconomically the public funds; and purchaſe with them the public welfare: to

† Which if reduced to a ſingle head, may be generally termed inequality.

concentrate

concentrate the wiſhes and intereſts of a multitude, too numerous to coaleſce, but by the medium of repreſentation: to foſter publick ſpirit: to check the inroads of inſulting Greatneſs; in thoſe hoſtile deſcents which, from its ſummits, might be made upon the unprotected rights of more lowly Induſtry.

To lift the voice of the populace to the ear of that legiſlature, of which one branch is of their creation: to bid proud defiance to the menaces of oppreſſion; and refer the queſtion of innocence to the tribunal of Impartiality: This is a rude ſketch of that power in the people, which, prudently ſcattered, to enſure its preſervation, diſperſedly exiſts in the king, the lords, the commons, and the populace.

It is the peculiar, and fundamental excellence of the Britiſh conſtitution, that it is a more effectual mode, than has ever been deviſed, for collecting the ſenſe of a whole, civilized people; and diſcovering that path, along which authority may move, without trampling on the intereſts of any order in the ſtate. It is a government of mixture; not of diſunion: unity, on the contrary, is its end; and its attainment.

Equal law, in the mean time encircles, like a glory, the whole ſocial maſs; while that coherency of principle which is related to it, and which fixes the monarch's title to his crown, upon the ſame ground which ſupports mine to a trifling patrimony, gives to the King, and ſome of

of the humbleſt of his ſubjects, a reciprocal intereſt to maintain each others rights.

With the extent of that character of balance, which belongs to the Britiſh government, we do not ſeem fully acquainted. We cannot, indeed, help knowing that our conſtitution is a mixed one; but are not generally aware how intimate, and pervading, this mixture is: how it circulates minutely through all the details. Thus our ariſtocracy (or if you pleaſe, oligarchy) is a mixed one. Balance, and its conſequences, may be found in that body. There, may be found the ariſtocracy of wealth, ſtruggling againſt the ariſtocracy of talent: the novi homines oppoſed to the Patricians: the repreſentatives of the civil, eccleſiaſtical, and military eſprits du corps, mutually controuling each others power. And, beſides the tendency of mutual check, to obviate the views of encroaching ambition, it might be added, that the caution, and emulation, which this internal ſtruggle will produce, operate to purify, and improve the whole body.

That this ſubordinate balance ſhould be deſtroyed, and riches (for example) preponderate in our ariſtocracy, would be a miſchief of the moſt ſerious nature. The ſelfiſhneſs, and meanneſs, which acquire the wealth, attend the tyranny which it exerciſes, when acquired; and the odium of up-ſtart purſe-pride, is on record. Wealth, therefore, ought to balance: not to ſway.

In a government, which, nominally, is democratick, an oligarchal power is continually

growing up. In early periods, virtues, and talents, (eſpecially thoſe of the ferocious kind) would acquire preeminence, and conſtitute this power: but in the preſent ſtate of the civilized world, the oligarchy which grows from a democratick form, would very principally conſiſt of wealth: and from the fluctuation of property, which muſt happen in every poliſhed people, this preeminence would be upſtart.

Hereditary rank ſhould therefore be allowed, and cheriſhed; in order to controul the oligarchal power of wealth: the communicable nature of thoſe enjoyments, which riches can procure, and the eminence which they give,—leſs imaginary and unſubſtantial, than that which is conferred by family, making it very neceſſary to ſet a check on their authority. The ſelfiſhneſs of human nature will give numerous dependants to the wealthy man; and will heighten; his influence, and foſter it, to oppreſſion. And it may be added, that the malignity, which he will feel towards that rival grandeur, which is derived from anceſtry, and which may not be purchaſed, makes it neceſſary that this latter ſhould not be left merely in poſſeſſion of that eminence, which belongs to it by nature, but ſhould be ſtrengthened and protected, by civil inſtitutions, inveſting it with poſitive, and artificial dignity.

Above the ariſtocracy, thus organized, is placed the king; and that he may be conſidered as a national repreſentative, will be admitted by all, who have a juſt idea of our conſtitution. In this capacity he exerciſes the office of publick accuſer:

accuſer: a function ſo diſtinct from all executive authority, yet which latter too is derived from the ſame repreſentative ſource. He repreſents the diligence of the nation in detecting crimes; and its power to puniſh infractions, when detected. It is in this laſt awful, (and ſtill repreſentative) capacity, that the Monarch is ſurrounded with that impoſing pomp, which, by diſtinguiſhing him eminently, and ſtudiouſly, from the very proudeſt of his ſubjects, ſhews that his grandeur is not derived from the mere circumſtance of his being the ſummit of the national ariſtocracy. Of the ſame nature is his right of declaring war, and peace: it exiſts in virtue of his being the repreſentative of the nation; conſidered with a reference to other nations. As ſuch he receives ambaſſadors, &c. The king is more obviouſly a national repreſentative, than either of the other branches of the legiſlature; and this, in conſequence of the unity, which belongs to our executive power; as well as of the importance of this power in itſelf, and the quality which it poſſeſſes, beyond legiſlative authority, of making viſible, and ſtriking, the publick union.

Of the authority, confided by our conſtitution, to thoſe bodies, between which it has diſtributed ſupremacy, part is for purpoſes immediate, and direct; part, of a nature ſubſidiary, and protective: of this latter ſort, perhaps, is the ſhare in legiſlation, committed to the king; though it may be alſo true, that the intereſts into which Nature ſplit the people, by inducing a neceſſity for umpirage, (in order to eſcape deſpotiſm) might

juſtify the entruſting him with ſuch a power, though unneceſſary for the comple protection of his other privileges. Other ſubo ute powers, again, may be conceived to ha n lighted up, in the intenſity of his greatneſs

For the ſame auxiliary purpoſe, the nobles are entitled to a trial by their own body. To the ſame end, they form a ſeparate chamber. If the peers and commons made but one aſſembly, and that queſtions were there decided by a majority of votes, the whole people would be no longer repreſented to any effectual purpoſe. In the modern ſenſe indeed, the people might be repreſented: that is, the majority of inhabitants in the country: but the great national minority, compoſed of the wealth, and dignity of the country, would be unprotected: their intereſts, which the controul of our peerage now defends, would be ſwallowed up by a greedy multitude; and the link, between king and people, would be ſnapped.

I have thus diſcuſſed ſuch ſubjects, as ariſe from the conſideration of what ſeems to me the moſt pervading, and objectionable principle in your addreſs; and after what I have written, it is hardly neceſſary to declare, that I cannot approve of the following paragraph, which contains a ſentiment, connected with that which I have been combating.

" We exult to live in a country, where the " voice of the people, once plainly and decidedly " uttered,

" uttered, is a thunder which no government " dares reſiſt." *

I muſt abſolutely decline partaking of your joy; as well from the nature, as non-exiſtence of its cauſe. I ſhould not rejoice at living in a country, where the cry of a poſitive and giddy populace was a thunder, which no government, (however honeſt) dared reſiſt; and though I were ſo depraved, as to exult at ſuch a miſchief, I am not ſo ignorant, as to ſuppoſe that, in the country in which I live, this is at all peculiarly the caſe: at all derived from the principles of the conſtitution. I ſhould indeed rejoice to live in a country, where the voice of the people, as wiſe as it was powerful, gave an awful, virtuous, and effectual check, to the aſſaults of faction, on the one hand; and the wilyneſs of corruption, on the other. I ſhould rejoice that mankind was different from what it is. As things are, I am forced to exult, that leſt wickedneſs prevail, power is divided: that the populace have no thunders to hurl againſt the government; nor the governors any thunder, to hurl againſt the people.

It may, however, be neceſſary to remind a cavilling reader, that my diſcuſſions regard general, and permanent principles; and ſuppoſe the exiſtence of a conſtitution. In caſes of national breach of compact, the principles of the conſtitution ſuffer a momentary ſuſpenſion; or more properly ſpeaking, a peculiar, and appro-

* In the Addreſs of the Friends, &c.

priate

priate ſyſtem of principles, reſerved for the event of ſo miſchievous a breach, are then firſt let in; and begin their temporary operation. It is the general and permanent principle, (laid down as ſuch by the ſociety which I addreſs) of conſtitutional predominance in the voice of the populace, that I, from what I know of our conſtitution, muſt deny.

But to come to your "declaration of political ſentiments;" and inquire how far they prove an acquaintance with that conſtitution, for which you profeſs a friendſhip.

To the ſecond branch of this declaration * I object, for its want of preciſion. When you undertook to deſcribe, what you properly call "vital parts of our conſtitution," you certainly were bound to deſcribe them accurately. Your ſituation reſembled thoſe caſes in our law, where, though recital was not neceſſary, miſrecital ſhall be fatal.

"An hereditary monarch, the ſole executive "power" is ſo far from being an adequate deſcription of our king, that it would ſuit with a prince, poſſeſſed of leſs authority than was con-

* "That an hereditary monarch, the ſole executive "power, an aſſembly of nobles, emanating from the crown, "and a body of repreſentatives, derived from the people, "by a free and general election, are each of them integral, "vital, and eſſential parts of our conſtitution; inſomuch "that the decay, or corruption, of any of them, muſt taint, "or deſtroy the whole ſyſtem.'

ferred

ferred on Louis XVI. by the conſtituent aſſembly; who inveſted him with ſome portion of legiſlative power.

" An aſſembly of nobles emanating from the " crown" is not deſcriptive of the hereditary quality of our peerage; nor of the ſhare of nobility to which we admit the church: yet it is a matter notorious, that at this time, hereditary title, and epiſcopal dignity, are objectionable in the eyes of ſome reformers. How therefore ſhall we know what principles we embrace, in ſubſcribing your declaration?

Perhaps it reſembles cavilling, to object, that " a body of repreſentatives derived from the peo- " ple, by free, and general election," deſcribes too vaguely: that it does not aſcertain you not to mean, that numbers, rather than property, ſhould be repreſented: and poverty ſend deputies, to impoſe taxes upon wealth.

In part of the fourth branch of your declaration, * I would give emphaſis, to the words " ari- " ſing from difference in religious opinions." Diſtinctions, ariſing *merely* from this cauſe, ſhould be aboliſhed: but I doubt whether any ſuch diſtinctions can be found: any which are not political in their origin, as well as nature.

As to your " declaration," to be ſubſcribed by future members,—in its implied principle †

* " That the permanent peace and welfare of Ireland " can only be eſtabliſhed, by the abolition of all civil, and " political diſtinctions, ariſing from difference in religious " opinions.

† " As it is to be collected from the words" reform in " the repreſentation of the people in parliament, including " perſons of all religious perſuaſions."

I am

I am very far from being prepared to acquieſce; beſides, from its connexion with thoſe recitals which I have examined, it is tainted with the uncertainty, imputable to them. Its concluding paſſage ought however to be cited, as ſome evidence of your good intentions; and as explanatory of the doubts, that occur in what precedes it. "I do further declare, that I will reſiſt all "attempts to introduce any new form of govern- "ment into this country; or in any manner to "ſubvert, or impair our conſtitution, conſiſting "of king, lords, and commons.

I now approach the concluſion of a (perhaps tedious) letter; ſketching by the way, of my political ſentiments, ſuch as are adapted to the preſent criſis.

I think the borough traffick ſhould be aboliſhed; nor is it any argument againſt this, that, for venal boroughs ſome reſpectable perſons have been returned. I do not however mean to ſay, that boroughs themſelves ſhould be diſfranchiſed; and the trading intereſt of the nation be left unrepreſented; but, on the contrary, think, that if they can be made free, and the permanence of that freedom in ſome ſort ſecured; and if it can be contrived that their political power ſhall encreaſe, and dwindle, in proportion to their commercial improvement, or decay; they ſhould be ſuffered to ſubſiſt. * I trace in them

* L'on connoit beaucoup mieux les beſoins de ſa ville, que ceux des autres villes; et on juge mieux de la capacite de ſes voiſins, que de celle de ſes autres compatriotes. Eſprit des lois, I. 11. c. 6. See alſo, upon the preſent ſubject, Robertſon's Charles the 5th. Introduction: § 1.

the

the rudiments of our houſe of Commons; and for this, amongſt other reaſons, I reſpect them. *

I think the conſideration for national honours ought to be paid to the nation only; and ſhould conſiſt in the merit of the party which obtains them.

But the word merit muſt be taken in a comprehenſive ſenſe. It is political merit to abſtain, or deſiſt, from doing miſchief. To reward this laſt ſpecies of unworthy merit, is a dangerous application of public honours; I admit: it borders upon the corruption of the popular repreſentative; and to draw a line is very difficult.

I think the elective franchiſe ſhould be extended to the Catholicks; but I doubt if it ſhould be extended, without any limitation: nor does this doubt ſo much ariſe from regard to their religion; as to the abjectneſs, and dependance, which of courſe would be let in, if this political privilege were promiſcuouſly conceded.

And ſince any reſtrictions, which I annexed to the grant, would be meant to regard property, and not religion, perhaps, they ought equally to be applied, in future, to indigent perſons of the Proteſtant perſuaſion. Perhaps 20l. per annum, would make a proper qualification; and that Leaſe-holders, whoſe intereſt is permanent, ſhould be electors, the grounds of their excluſion being feodal; and now obſolete.

Yet, concerning the expediency of what I have ſuggeſted, there is, I muſt confeſs, much room for

* Hume—Hiſt. Engl. Hen. 3. c. 12.

ing

doubting; in conſequence of the ſuperior numbers of the Catholicks, and of Proteſtaniſm's being the religion of the ſtate: the ſupport of which may be ſaid to need the political embodying of as many of that perſuaſion, as may be.*

Therefore, while I offend the Catholicks, by ſetting limits to our c nceſſion of the elective franchiſe to them, I ſhall poſſibly diſguſt Proteſtants, by (even doubtingly) propoſing any future excluſion of themſelves. But here is my motto.

> Papiſt, or Proteſtant, or both between,
> Like good Eraſmus, in a *golden* mean;
> In moderation placing all my glory,
> While Tories call me Whig; and Whig's
> a Tory. †

I have already ſaid, that I am far from being prepared to admit, what your declaration ſeems evidently to point at, viz. that Catholicks ſhould have ſeats in our Houſe of Commons. I ſhould think ſuch a conceſſion dangerous; however it was qualified.

To the ravages of corruption I am not blind; ‡ but as to the cauſes of the miſchief we may differ. I attribute it in part to the depravity of mankind; and in ſome ſort even, to the free ſpirit of our conſtitution.

When Hume, the hiſtorian, has related that Sir John Savile, a leader of oppoſition in the Bri-

* And therefore, if by admitting leaſe-holders to vote, we ſhould lodge with R man Catholicks, an over-proportion of the elective franchiſe.—a new, and ſolid objection ſucceeds the ancient, feodal one—to their admiſſion.

† Pope. ‡ See the addreſs.

and

tiſh parliament, was gratified with a peerage, and ſome offices of dignity, by James I., and that this advancement is the firſt inſtance on record in Engliſh hiſtory, of parliamentary oppoſitions having ſtormed the royal favour, he cloſes his account with the following remark: "however irregular this practice, it will be regarded, by political reaſoners, as one of the "moſt early, and moſt infallible ſymptoms of a "regular, eſtabliſhed liberty. †

I ſhould therefore heſitate to excite, in the populace, thoſe pretenſions to power, and to political interpoſition, which it is too much the faſhion, at preſent, to encourage. You are encreaſing the corruption, of which you now complain. You are rouzing a ſavage, which bribery will tame; and publick tranquillity be purchaſed, at the price of publick virtue.

Beſides, though this remedial poiſon ſhould fail of its effect, yet, in foſtering a power, which you boaſt of as "irreſiſtible," you are abettors of that deſpotiſm, which you profeſs to abhor; and fall into the very error, which you are warned againſt, by Monteſquieu.

Malgré l'amour des hommes pour la liberté; malgré leur haine contre la violence; la plupart des peuples y ſont ſoumis. Cela eſt aiſé à comprendre. Pour former un gouvernment modéré, il faut *combiner les puiſſances:* les regler, les tempérer les faire agir; donner, pour ainſi dire, *un leſt à l'une, pour la mettre en etat de reſiſter à une autre:* c'eſt un chef d'œuvre de legiſlation, que le haſard

† Hiſt. England. James I. c. 48.

ſard fait rarement, & que rarement on laiſſe faire a la Prudence. Un gouvernment deſpotique, au contraire, ſaute, pour ainſi dire, aux yeux: il eſt *uniforme* partout: comme il ne faut que des paſſions pour l'etablir, tout le monde eſt bon, pour cela. †

† de l' eſprit des lois, liv. 5. c. 14.

P. S. Some queſtions propoſed in page 96 and 97 of my laſt number, I am happy at being able to anſwer in the negative. The paragraph in the Hibernian Journal I underſtand to be unfounded.

NUMBER XIV.

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SATURDAY, FEBRRUARY 23, 1793.

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Quæ *Criſpini* docuit me *janitor*, edo.
Hor. lib. 2. *Sat.* 7.

THE cry for *Equality* is ſo nearly ſilenced, that the alluſions of the following letter are growing obſolete: I began to plan it, as I paſſed the portico of a citizen cobler, who has lately come from France; and is ſettled in my neighbourhood. It breathes the ſpirit of fraternity; and is a ſample of that familiar intercourſe, which would prevail, if political philoſophy were not checked in its career;—if the light of truth had diſſolved that Ariſtocratick rigour, which, obſtructing all intercourſe, between a Cobler, and a gentleman, checks thoſe ſocial tendencies, which Nature gave us; and freezes the genial current of ſentimental epanchement.

CITOYEN ARTISAN,

Au genre humain il faut la Liberté.—Mais le moyen de la retenir, chez tel, ou tel peuple?*—Elle eſt bien femme: elle a des caprices: des

* Embarras qui fait ſentir l'utilité du projet, ſi ſagement entamé par ce citoyen éclairé, Anacharſis Clootes: ſçavoir d'incorporer

des inconſtances: le changement n'eſt guere le moindre de ſes beſoins.—Elle n'habite plus la Grece: elle a fui Latium;—autrefois ſi fier, & ſi digne, de ſa preſence.—Pleine d'etourderie, et ſujette à l'ennui, la liberté quelquefois ſe fuit ſoi-même: ce qu' elle fait actuellement dans votre pays; ce qu' elle faillit faire ici, et en Angleterre.

" Dans un tel embarras, quel parti faut il prendre?"—Faut il l'enfermer?—faut il la contraindre? La Liberté à la baſtille!—La Liberté en chaines!—mais voila, ce me ſemble, une trop grande inconſequence.*

Sans ceſſe elle s'echappe; ét s'en va; et pour courir apres,—ſi non pas des culottes,† il faut au moins des ſouliers.—Avant que de la retrouver, ces ſouliers ſe briſent:—he! qu 'importe?—vous voila, qui peut les raccommoder, ſur le champ.

Tous les metiers ſont honorables: chacun eſt illuſtre, à meſure qu'il eſt utile.—Principe qui fait voir combien le votre eſt ſublime:—par lui on rattrappe la volage Liberté.———

Secte de Jean Jacques, ſucceſſeurs d'Emile, ceſſez, Menuiſiers, de me vanter donc le votre: eſt ce que les ſabotiers ſont propres à la courſe?

d'incorporer la totalité de l'eſpece humaine: d'en former la vaſte republique de l'Homme. Il faut voir la deſſus le ſentiment de D'Alembert—dans ſon analyſe de l'ouvrage de Monteſquieu.

* Du moins, une telle conduite ne ſauroit convenir qu' à la France.

† Comme le diſent les Marſeillois à Paris.———

ou

ou bien que les Menuiſiers ſavent travailler en cuir? —Rappellez, orgueilleux, les môts de la fable: —." mes amis, c'eſt le cuir, qui doit ſauver la patrie."‡

Mais non ſeulement les hommes vous doivent leur Liberté ;—*l'egalité* auſſi, c'eſt l'ouvrage de vos mains.

Plaçez de ce côté la un nain: mettez ici un grenadier: hauſſez les talons au premier; et voila l'egalité retablie.—J'oſe le dire, *on ne peut pas mieux* retablie.——Mais comment les hauſſer?—comment la retablir?—il faut s'appuyer, pour cela, ſur vos talens, et vos ſoins.—Digne Reſtaurateur, que votre art eſt élevé!—ſeulement ſubordonné à celui du Cordonnier!—(Je veux dire du Cordonnier conſtituant.)

Quant au retabliſſement de l'egalité, chez les François l'on s'y prend autrement; Je l'avoue. Lá, on fait pendre les petits; (ce qui doit leur alonger le cou:) énſuite on coupe la téte aux grands; et voila tous de nivéau.—Mais, J'aimerois mieux avoir recours á vous: malgré mon penchant pour le degat politique, Je ne ſaurois gouter les uſages d'un pays, on l'on exerce le deſpotiſme—pour l'amour de la liberté: ou l'on fait *mourir* le peuple—au milieu des cris de " *vive* la nation"!

‡ Il faut avouer que le livre d'ou l'on tire ce ſentiment eſt à portée des menuiſiers, & des cordonniers raccommodeurs: il s'appelle *Univerſal Spelling-Book:* il y a de jolies petites hiſtoires là dedans.

Je

Je ſens un mouvement, qui m'embraſe le cœur. Je le reonnois bien: c'eſt l'eſprit roturier: c'eſt l'amour de la patrie.—Citoyen Je veux m 'epancher avec toi. Raccommodeur Je me ſens digne de ta confiance. Je ſuis auſſi bon patriote, que ſi J'etois mendiant: à temoin ma poîtrine, qui s'eleve contre toute ſorte de privilege.—He! point de titres ;—et vive le travail !—plus de Cordons bleus ;—& vivent les Cordonniers !

Citoyen, nous ſommes freres à bien de titres. Nous ſommes freres, pour ainſi dire, au *pied* de la lettre.——Ainſi (pour faire mes preuves,) moi Je ſuis philoſophe : par conſequent, bon Cordonnier.

" *Qui ſapiens eſt,*
" *Et ſutor bonus.*"

Quant à la mecanique, il faut avouer que Je ne m'y connois guere ;—mais, outre que c'eſt le ſiecle des theories, et non pas celui de la pratique, (on ne ſauroit pratiquer ce qui n'eſt pas praticable:) on peut donner, la deſſus, des eclairciſſemens, en citant un auteur des plus celébres :

——" *Sapiens crepidas ſibi nunquam,*
" *Nec ſoleas fecit : ſutor tamen eſt ſapiens.*"

Cela etant—mon cher frere en ſapience ;—vu que les cordonniers ſont ſages ; et que les ſages, à leur tour, ſont cordonniers ; (de ſorte que ces deux termes ſont preſque ſinonimes ;) qu 'il me ſoit permis de traçer, philoſophiquement, un tableau

tableau rapide de la premiere origine d'un metier, qu' on peut nommer la ſageſſecordonnerie.

L'Homme naquit ſans poil, et nud : la tête molle, et les pieds ſans corne. Pour le garantir du froid, la Nature fit paroitre les filles ; et les tailleurs. Voila les trois claſſes originaires, dont l'eſpece humaine fût compoſée.———Révenons à l'homme. Il ſe promêne dans un bois : en heurtant contre un arbre, il ſe bleſſe le front : il pleure.—(l'individu avoit beau d'être mûr ; l'eſpece etoit encore enfant :) A'l' inſtant des mugiſſemens lui trappent l'oreille : ce ſont des taureaux qui ſe battent :—pleine de douceur, une vâche ſe trouvoit aupres d'eux.—" Qu' ils ont la tête forte !"—voila ce que diſoit, triſtement, notre ſolitaire :—Il tombe en rêverie : il revient : il ſe marie.

Reſte encore quelque choſe à faire.—La faim le preſſe : il court apres ſa proie.—Malheurs partout ! les epines l'arrêtent, en lui perçant le pied. " Infortuné ! que deviendrai Je ?"—Il s'enfonce dans un bocage, en boitant toujours. Il ſe couche ſur l'herbe : des ſoupirs, et des ſanglôts lui coupent la voix : Il etouffe. *La Sapience* etoit là : cachée ſous la figure d'un cadavre d'âne ; dont elle avoit premierement detaché les ſabôts.—Mon homme les regardoit avec attention :—du dedans du cadavre une voix ſe fait entendre :—" il faut à l'Homme des machines comme ça :"—un morne ſilence ſuccéda à ces paroles : peu à peu le vent commence à s'agiter : une mauvaiſe odeur ſe repand partout :—le boiteux s'elêve ; et fort, en friſſonnant.

Voila l'origine de la ſageſſecordonnerie : voila le commencement de ces belles liaiſons, qui nous uniſſent actuellement.——Dès lors nos metiers ſe ſont confondues ; à peu pres comme ceux de chirurgien & de barbier.—Dès ce temps-là, (ſoit dit en paſſant) les ânes veulent paſſer pour philoſophes.

Je viens de jaſer.—J'en demande pardon. Un Republicain parle peu.— Bret.—J'ai beſoin de toi. C'eſt que mon orteil vient de briſer ſes chaines ; et abuſe d'une Liberté, naturelle, mais trop effrénée. Il faut y remedier :—voila 4 ſols.

Citoyen Je te Salue :

PATRIOTE.

4. ieme année de la Lib.

TO THE

PATRIOT.

Humani generis mores tibi noſſe volenti,
Sufficit una domus.

Juv. Sat. 13*th.*

SIR,

To the pleaſure which I have felt from the peruſal of your eſſays, you muſt attribute the trouble of my preſent letter:—in which I ſhall lay before you the reſult of ſome remarks, which the purport of thoſe eſſays not unnaturally led to.

The maſs of Society I apprehend to be formed, by the inſenſible growth of Families to Tribes; and gradual accumulation of theſe latter into nations. From whence it will follow, that publick government is a multiple of private ſway; and the ſubject of my letter will become altogether pertinent.

For, as ſmall ſtates have been held the fitteſt for the inſtruction of politicians, may not the petty arrangements of domeſtick regulation, and miniature controul which preſides in private companies, alſo furniſh principles of wider application?—

plication?—I have therefore aſſumed the taſk of ſuggeſting theſe analogies; and enabling you to publiſh my diſcoveries.

I ſhall firſt bring before you my friend Mr. Tamely, in his capacity of Paterfamilias; and ſketch the conſtitution of his houſehold.

During the commencement of a reign, which laſted ſomewhat longer than that of Edward the Vth, his efforts were directed to the population of his empire; and have finally been crowned with tolerable ſucceſs. But, ſtrange as it will appear, his authority diminiſhed, in proportion as he became the father of his people. The family conſtitution was inſenſibly deranged; and the government, (lodged ſeemingly in the hands of two) might be thought, by a haſty obſerver, to be conſular.—But, at beſt, it was the conſulate of Cæſar, and of Bibulus;—and as the Romans recorded the uſurpation which occurred in their time, by dating from the conſulate of Julius, and of Cæſar,†—ſo the houſehold authority which I am deſcribing, might be termed the reign of Harriett, and of Loverule: (this being Mrs. Tamely's maiden name.)—

Affairs being thus circumſtanced, you will anticipate the concluſion:—he has long ſince named her Effeminacy, Dictator: a proceeding which I will confeſs myſelf to have adviſed; and for which the tumults of the marriage ſtate very

† Suetonius; Jul. Cæs. c. 20.

loudly

loudly called. The event has in ſome ſort juſtified my counſels; for matters now go on with ſufficient ſmoothneſs: in ſo much, that unleſs the lady ſhould abdicate, herſelf, I apprehend the dignity will be perpetual.—So long as the power was apparently divided, the family quiet was continually diſturbed, by the lady's jealouſy of her yokemates claims; and ſtratagems to exalt her own aſcendancy; and the ſubject groaned beneath that ſuſpicious harſhneſs, which ariſes from the fearfulneſs of precarious authority. But now that her ſupremacy is fixed, and recognized, ſhe can exerciſe all the clemency of ſatisfied ambition——Yet, as if the more effectually to verify my ſyſtem, ſhe ſometimes regrets her former, indirect controul; and waiving the exerciſe of her acknowledged privilege, diſclaims "having any, will but that of Mr. Tamely; or wiſh beyond "the freedom that every woman ought to have." (a claim of dominion, which is thoroughly à la françaiſe.)——Power, ſhe knows, is bounded, by being recognized; and ſhe broods upon a ſentiment, which fell from me, that "the autho-"rity of Magiſtrates is better than that of De-"magogues; and the majeſty of a King, than "the terrors of a Lord Protector; or the lurking "deſpotiſm of a National Convention."*

Do

* I ſuſpect that my Correſpondent is miſtaken, in ſuppoſing the Convention the ſeat of that power, which now rules France, with ſuch deſpotick Rigour: the ſupreme power I take to be lodged in the Mob: (I aſk pardon; I mean the People;) or, if a portion of it be veſted in any members of the Convention, it is only becauſe theſe ſame perſons

Do not haſtily accuſe me, then, of abetting tyranny; though I ſhould have contributed to Mrs. Tamely's greatneſs; but now, that the facts which form my premiſes are ſtated, hearken patiently to my concluſions. That, as of power, it is the ſubſtance which is formidable; not the name;—and as Deſpotiſm is uſually aggravated by being latent; (the unacknowledged tyrant being inſtigated to cruelty by his jealouſies;—while he is exempted from the check of ſhame by his concealment:) the name ought to follow the reality, of Power: its rigour ſhould be ſoftened, by expoſure to publick notice. In a word, that Deſpotiſm ſhould project a ſhadow; which may warn the inadvertent, when they come within its reach.

Let us now, Sir, enlarge the field of obſervation, and extending our inquiries beyond a ſingle family, contemplate the more ſpacious circles of ſociety: examine that federative ſyſtem, which forms a neighbourhood; and inveſtigate thoſe governments, which may be termed convivial. Or, appropriating a more technichal dialect to my art, let us ſay that, having conſidered the thoral ſyſtem, we ſhall now proceed to ſtudy the menſal conſtitutions.

At dinner lately, with my old acquaintance, Mitis,—my new theory floating in my brain, and converting into proofs every object that lay round

perſons happen to be mobleaders. Their power does not flow from their conſtitutional ſituation of Legiſlators.—See the laſt mandate, iſſued to them by the Federates, to forbear proſecuting the aſſaſſins of the 2d of September.

me,

me, I aſſumed the following principles, for a foundation. That the Government, which regulates convivial meetings, is not tinctured with any properties of feodality; but may be fairly claſſed amongſt the democratick forms. The gueſts enjoy equal rights and privileges, in converſation; while, in the capacity of Stadtholder, to theſe united families, the entertainer upholds their federative connexion; and keeps on foot a ſtanding army, for the public ſervice. As for thoſe inquiſitors, who went round the table, and detected, and betrayed the ſecrets of the company,* I thought them as conſiſtent with a republican form, as the committee of reſearch, eſtabliſhed amongſt the French;—and with reſpect to the deſpotick character of ſuch eſtabliſhments, your ſeventh number had already taught me, that Democracy and Deſpotiſm are in no ſort incompatible.

In this theory, perhaps, I was not much miſtaken; perhaps thoſe parlour uſurpations which I am about to ſtate, are the natural produce of a too popular conſtitution, (whether publick, or private, national, or convivial;) and that Sir Blatero Rumbledon, (a fierce republican, who ſat next me,) was only a Menſagogue; and his arbitrary conduct but proportionally equivalent to what the Demagogues exert, in their wider ſphere of action.

*——Aperit præcordia Liber.
Hor.

Vino, tortis:
Ibid.

Let

Let this be as it may, I ſoon perceived that he was the ruler of the table: that his word was the law; and that no man's property in converſation was ſecure, from the effects of his extortion, and extravagance. Modeſt knowledge faultered in his preſence: contradiction fell before him; and truth was overwhelmed in the tempeſt of his aſſertions. A monopoliſt of uproar, his avarice graſped at ſyllables; while, ſtunning with interruption, and burglariouſly entering the precincts of your diſcourſe, he wrung your ſtory from your mouth, to the laſt ſentence; and diſembogued it on his hearers with the moſt vociferous profuſion. Nay, however ſmall your means in converſation;—though you were but provided with a dozen ſentences, for chequering the dull ſolemnity of your ſilence, and ſcantily ſupplying the wants of the afternoon, he had no compaſſion:—no diſcrimination:—but levied your little all, with fiſcal barbarity.

" *Nil habuit Codrus: quis enim negat? et tamen* illud
" *Perdidit Infelix* totum nihil." *

From the vehemence of his manner—I inferred the ſhallowneſs of his underſtanding; for ſuffer me to digreſs, a moment, from my ſubject, while I illuſtrate the influence of intellect upon paſſion.

Perſons on ſhipboard, in the warmer latitudes, uſe the following expedient for cooling their liquors: they immerſe them to a conſiderable

* Juvenal, Sat. 3.

depth

depth in the ocean; which is found to be much colder towards its bottom, than at a leſſer diſtance from the ſurface. The liquors, when drawn up again, are fit for uſe. Thus, the paſſions of Sir Blatero would have, probably, been leſs hot, if his underſtanding had been more profound. *

Having aſcertained the exorbitance of this uſurpers power, I began to conſider what the means were that upheld it; and was juſt about to raiſe my voice, in the cauſe of liberty of ſpeech, and equality of audience, when the Menſagogue took his hat, and left the room. He was followed by Mr. Hangeron, whoſe attempted aſſumptions of the talkative ſceptre I have forborne to notice, ſince when he ſeemed to wreſt it from the hand of Rumbledon, he in fact meant to fix it more firmly in his graſp;—his interruptions reſembling thoſe of a tragedy confidante; or the blows which a boy gives the hoop that he is chaſing, when he perceives it ſlackening in its career.

The Tyrant was removed; but the tyranny continued; and was exerciſed leſs terribly by his ſucceſſor Ruſillus; who now aſcended the vocal throne; and governed the table, with the proudeſt ſuavity of manner.

I did not ſurvive his reign;—but ſeeing no chance of obtaining the ear of the aſſembly, (for

* Buffon, hiſt. nat.—My reader need not be reminded that I here allude to that ſputtering heat, which is the attendant upon dulneſs. There is alſo an honeſt vehemence, and warmth, which belong inſeparably to talent, and to virtue; and which no man can reſpect more ſeriouſly, than I do.

I too

I too was deſirous to uſurp attention ;) I left him diſcourſing, and wearily took my leave.

In addition to thoſe reflections which were ſupplied me by the Tamely's, (as that Deſpotiſm is generally aggravated by concealment ;) and which were alſo in ſome ſort applicable here ; I could not help obſerving, as I returned home, on the abuſes to which popular governments are expoſed :—I felt that the oppreſſions of Sir Blatero, and Ruſillus, were the natural conſequences of that Democratick principle, which, too eminently diſtinguiſhing the menſal conſtitutions, gives no check to the uſurping inclinations of ſome men ; but leaves their tyrannick humour an unbounded range. Beſides, as I have ſaid, the table deſpotiſm is too concealed: the Menſagogue will play the tyrant, and engroſs the whole diſcourſe, in aſſerting the rights of gueſts, and the freedom of converſation.

On the whole, Sir, I not only ſubſcribed to the definition, which, in your eighth number, you give of government ; that, " it is a mound, which the divinity of human Reaſon, has flung on the enormity of human Violence ;"——but, perſuaded that a lofty, and firm-ſet throne is the beſt ſecurity for publick freedom, I heartily wiſhed Mitis had been King—inſtead of Stadholder ;—and were truſted with that ſocial ſceptre, called the hammer, ſo conducive, to good order, in ſome convivial meetings.

The

The next day Mitis called upon me, bringing a pamphlet in his pocket, which he recommended to my attention. Occupied at the moment in writing you this letter, I haſtened to communicate my ſyſtem to my friend; who, though he ſmiled at its ſingularity, did not controvert its truth; but even furniſhed me with means of rendering the theory more complete. Your analogies, ſaid he, will bear to be detailed, without the ſlighteſt deviation from the truth: theſe latent tyrannies pervade familiar life; and are continually found lurking beneath every ſurface of equality. What is the valetudinarian, who terms peeviſhneſs ill health; and ſubdues us to his whimſies, with the aid of our own pity? ——What the froward infant, that ſqualls us into compliance with its helpleſs commands?—or the mother who, declaring herſelf a ſlave to her children, laſhes them into ſilence, without inveſtigating their wants?—What is Miſs Flippanta, when checking the remark that has half iſſued from your lips, ſhe raiſes a ſneer againſt your knowledge, by avowing her own ignorance?—Theſe are all equals, or inferiors, in appearance; tyrants in ſubſtance, and effect: the more completely rulers, for ſeeming it the leſs.

What is the blockhead, who having heard that excentricity attends on talent,—and that learning is incompatible with knowledge of the world;—who knowing himſelf ignorant, ſuppoſes himſelf ſhrewd; and preſumes, from your acuteneſs, that you muſt want common diſcernment:—what I ſay is he, who building his con-

duct

duct on this vulgar baſis, ſeeks to dupe you, in the civileſt, and groſſeſt manner poſſible? who balancing real talent, with imputed indiſcretion, and tempering his worthleſs compliment with ſneer, ſoars above you every day; but reſpects you once a twelvemonth: (provided you are fool enough to ſcrawl ſo often upon paper:)——who, as if that wiſdom which lights millions to their intereſt, muſt of courſe be inſufficient for guiding to your own;—not only treats you (when not writing, or haranguing.) like Mara off the Stage, or Veſtris in an arm chair;—but forgets that the former could warble ſweetly in her chamber; and that he will fit gracefully, who dances well:——in a word, who reſerving his applauſe for ſituations, in which you can be rarely, if ever placed, regards you, in the more ordinary intercourſe of life, as neither more nor leſs than an amuſing heap of brilliant incapacity; and harmleſs infatuation?——Will ſuch a man ſet up for being more than your equal?—will ſuch a man be found to be leſs than your oppreſſor?——

Truſt me, continued Mitis, this pretence which blockheads make to ſhrewdneſs, this calumny which Dulneſs firſt invented, and the modeſt indolence of talent has let to grow, (viz: that Wiſdom is by no means dexterous, in managing the minutæ of every day buſineſs; but that this, to go on ſmoothly, ſhould be left to Cunning,) beſides helping to ſubſtantiate your ludicrous analogies, have been productive of ſerious and extenſive evil.——By dragging impudent Stupidity into the foremoſt ranks of life; by appointing

pointing it to preſide over the intereſts of Nations; and to regulate the practical concerns of government; (while Genius in the mean time, is left to ſpeculate in obſcurity,)—they have helped miſchievouſly to invert the wholeſome progreſs of our nature—towards that glorious inequality, which is the perfection of the ſpecies;—and have prepared the minds of many, to receive the nonſenſe of Thomas Paine; who, under other circumſtances, and ſurrounded with other proſpects, would have inſtantly ſhrunk from its miſchievous abſurdity.—

I was about, interrupted I,—taking advantage of a pauſe,—to proceed regularly in that ſyſtem, which ſtrikes you as ludicrous; and having traced domeſtick ſway from the interior of a houſe, to the wider circle of an intire neighbourhood,—I meant next to detect the latent deſpotiſm of acquaintanceſhip; and to examine that modification of it, which modern Irony terms friendſhip.—This, returned Mitis, might prove too delicate a taſk: thoſe men, with whom you live.—You miſtake me, ſaid I, Mitis:—it was of friends, not intimates, I meant to treat: formerly it was amongſt his intimates that we looked to meet a perſons friends.—But now we are more enlightened. Mere *quietiſts* in friendſhip, we attend ſolely to the ſpirituality of the thing. We know that, like charity, as defined by Captain Blind,* it conſiſts leſs in groſs acts of kindneſs, and good will;—leſs in ſocial intercourſe, and coarſe familiarity;—leſs in feſtive communication, and

* In Tom Jones.

a fondneſs

a fondneſs for your friend's company, than in that celeſtial ſentiment which dwells within!

Immortal connexion! where the cauſes that ſever plain acquaintance are unknown! For as to being neglected, or otherwiſe unkindly treated, a friend of the true ſtamp will ſhew you that no man who reſpects himſelf, can admit the poſſibility of ſuch an event. Fy! it is the morbid ſentiment of a too tender mind! which for others unkinduеſs, miſtakes its own irritation!

So, from the famiſht wretch, whoſe eye purſues
The envied morſel, their hard hearts refuſe,
Should craving Nature force one ſickly groan,
Such friends would ſtraight the peeviſh haſte bemoan:
To check thoſe flights of fancy recommend;
And thoſe unkind ſuſpicious of his friend:
'Tis from pure love that they deny him food;
And if he's ſtarv'd,—ſure—ſure 'tis for his good!

This was the friendſhip—I intended to inveſtigate; and ſhould have ſhewn it to make one amongſt the latent tyrannies: I ſhould have ſhewn it to be a patronage of the moſt oppreſſive nature; becauſe, this Patron, in depreſſing you, affects to be your equal: (a circumſtance, favourable ſtill to my analogies; and conformable to the reflections which I made at Caſtle Tamely.)

Kind, leſs from feeling than from calculation,—the perſons I deſcribe are mere higlers in attachment;—who, in purchaſing your friendſhip, conſcientiouſly

conſcientiouſly offer you the half of what 'tis worth; and bid higher, only on this offer's being refuſed: who ſpeculate on the meekneſs of neglected worth, and the fickly cravings of ſympathies unemployed; and fix your price by your neceſſities,—rather than by your value.

All Deſpots diſlike ſubordination.* When their ſlaves are on a level,—they can trample them with leſs fatigue. Such is the conduct of the Deſpotick friend; (and his conduct thus enables us to claſs his domination:) he confounds all gradations, amongſt his tribe of protegés.—Now ſuppoſe, (for illuſtration) your friend aſked you to his table; and having provided a ſufficiently ſavoury ragout, ſhould ſhare it into halves, and preſenting you with one,—ſhould hand the other to his maſtiff, I wiſh to know would you feel grateful for ſuch hoſpitality.

But, independent of this levelling, his very civility is degrading: it always reflects a ſort of homage to himſelf:—like what Monteſquieu obſerves of the courteſy of the French nation, "qui "indiſpoſe par ſes bonnes qualités méme; par-"cequ elle paroit y joindre du mepris". †

But of compliment, to ſay the truth, thoſe friends are not profuſe: counſel—counſel is what

* See Monteſquieu.

† Eſp. d. l. c. 7.

they

they delight to give. * This they oftentimes encloſe in raillery; and beſtow in publick.—Your friendly Deſpot behaves beſt in a tête a tête.—It ſeems, ſaid Mitis, from your account, that the amical domination reſembles that, which was exerciſed at Rome, by virtue of a particular decree of the Senate:—Ne quid detrimenti capias appears to be the object of this friendly controul. —But 'tis their vanity, returned I, which inveſts them with their command, and the character of their criminal jurisprudence is deſpotick:—they ſentence you to infamy—by a ſlander de cachet. —Beſides they pilfer your confidence; and repay you with reſerve They acknowledge your good ſenſe; and dont attend to your opinion. They confeſs their own infirmities; and dictate their advice. They ſneer at you for being duped; rather than ſhew you the deceit.—They cloſe their degrading vindication of you, with a ſed tamen, † which ſubverts it all; and aſſent to calumnies againſt you—with "egad its true—tho' he's my friend." Meantime they have entangled

* De tous les ſervices, que l'homme peut rendre au prochain, il n'en eſt point, ou il ſe porte avec plus de plaiſir, et de ſatisfaction, qu' à donner un conſeil: car, outre que cela ne lui coute rien, il donne encore par la, de l'encens à ſon propre eſprit. Certainement la promptitude qu' on temoigne à conſeiller les autres eſt une marque de la preſomption qu 'on a de ſa propre capacité; & une ſincere amitié y a ſouvent la moindre part: car le conſeil en bien des rencontres eſt le fruit d'une amitié riede, & tient lieu de bonne volonté à celui, qui n'a pas envie de nous rendre d'autre ſervice.——Penſées d' Oxenſtirn.

† Vide Hor. lib. 1 Sat. 4. l. 96, &c.

you

you in a meſh of petty obligations:—they have confined you to their empire, by the magic of long habit: they have encircled you, ſo as to debar others from your acceſs: whatever ill they report of you, is credited by the publick; as coming from perſons, whoſe partialities are ſuppoſed to be in your favour. Come ſaid Mitis, you ſhall take a walk:—we will finiſh theſe diſcuſſions in the open air. By the time we had reached the banks of the Canal, I had run through my ſyllabus; and found Mitis holding the following diſcourſe:—

In ſtating, perhaps too ludicrouſly, the abuſes which pervade the various, and diſſimilar domeſtick eſtabliſhments, you appear to inculcate, what I take to be very true, that we are too apt to attribute to the defects of our conſtitution, evils, which in fact have their origin in our nature. When official Dulneſs ſtalks ſcornfully by my ſide, or affable Folly inſults with condeſcenſion, my love for the conſtitution loſes ſomewhat of its ſtrength: it fades, for a moment, in the heat of my reſentment. But this is paſſion:—— not reaſon.—This is pride: not conviction.—— When I behold the contumelies, which virtue muſt endure from power:—when I ſee timid merit juſtled, and thruſt back, by that ſtupid effrontery which comes forward in its place; or ruined by mean ſlanders of that conſcious folly, which dreads an open conflict with a rival of ſuch proweſs; and patiently retiring from the dignities of the State; my attachment to ariſtocracy is ſhaken at its roots: I miſtake the faults of our nature, for the defects of our government; and

irritation would draw concluſions; if reflection would permit. When I ſee lively ignorance raiſing itſelf to greatneſs, on the ſhoulders of buffoonery, debauchery, or corruption: the levity of folly ſoaring into rank; and the gravity of wiſdom preſſing to obſcurity;—I waſte thoſe groans upon eſtabliſhments, which ſhould be treaſured up for man. I grow a Democrat when I think of ſome of the leaders of adminiſtration,—but, one glance at the chieftains of Sedition ſupplies my cure.

But as Governments are to be judged of by their general effects, (where they do not contain ſome radical and inherent fault,) let a man turn his eyes—from the contemplation of abuſes which prejudice his judgment; and which fall ſo obviouſly beneath his notice here at home: let him view England, which is placed at a convenient diſtance, for enabling his obſervation to graſp the whole. In the ſtate of the Country let him ſeek the character of its government.---Let him conſider the ſituation of that wonderful country: "for wonderful * in truth appears to "me a machine, conſiſting of ſo beautiful, and "juſt a gradation of parts; each adapted to its "proper purpoſe, and promoting the progreſs "of the whole. Much evil, and much miſery "—no doubt, are to be found;—but are there "not both in the lot of every individual?—are "they not interwoven in our nature?—and muſt "not a conſiderable part of our beſt exertions

* This paſſage is extracted from a letter, written to me by a gentleman of my acquaintance.

"be

" be employed in preventing them; or in palli-
" ating, or curing their unhappy effects?"——
In a word, I conceive the genius of the Britiſh Conſtitution—addreſſing thus a generous, and enlightened people,—who, not blind to its defects, but even ſolicitious to amend them, yet confeſs that theſe are nobly redeemed by its perfections:

——" Sanus ab illis,
" Perniciem quæcunque ferunt—mediocribus, et queis
" Ignoſcas, vitiis teneor. Fortaſſis et iſtinc
" Largiter abſtulerit longa ætas: *liber amicus:* *
" Conſilium proprium."

This was a part of my friends diſcourſe; which at my return I thought proper to tranſcribe; together with the particulars of that converſation which preceded it:—I ſhall now conclude my tedious letter;—(which, if it have no better effect, may at leaſt ſet you dreaming for your readers once again;) with hoping that the ſenſible remarks of Mitis may atone for the rhapſodies, and follies, of

ANALOGUS.

Feb. 18th, 1793.

* A Patriot.

Note. In the foregoing papers, particularly in this, and the 13th Number, ſome paſſages are omitted, which ſeemed to interrupt the general purpoſe of the work. Of theſe ſuppreſs'd paſſages, I avow myſelf the author.

W. S.

NUMBER XV.

.....

SATURDAY, JUNE 15, 1793.

.....

Pugna ſuum finem, cum jacet hoſtis, habet.

OVID.

THE very being of *Virtue*, like that of *Reaſon*, conſiſting, apparently, in its exerciſe, we can hardly ſeparate our idea of its exiſtence, from that of its being in action. Virtue is an energy: a conſuming ardour; which, if the ſtate of things did not neceſſarily ſupply with conſtant food, muſt ſoon evaporate, and diſappear. A cauſe can exiſt only with reference to effects; and it is by an examination of theſe latter, that its efficacy can be meaſured. Thus, by relating a tale of ſorrow, we diſcover if a man be compaſſionate; and find out whether he be charitable, by enabling him to relieve it.

And thus too, Adverſity, in general, is at once the parent, and the teſt of virtue.

Qua

Quæ latet, inque bonis ceſſat, non cognita, rebus,
Apparet virtus, arguiturque—malis. *

For our idea of thoſe permanent, though dormant capabilities, which we denote, by ſaying that a man is virtuous, it is obtained by comparing, as to their magnitude, and frequency, thoſe effects, which we have known his virtues to produce already, with what they may be called on to produce, in future; and by concluding that the parallel of what has been done heretofore, may hereafter be effected by the ſame man, again: a concluſion quite ſufficient, for rearing upon it a general good opinion of our fellow creature; though not ſtrong enough to warrant us in unneceſſarily involving him in temptation; or in courting ſo perilous a trial, for ourſelves.

For, the efficacy of this, (ſhall I ſay habit?) cannot be meaſured with exactneſs, a priori. Towards our judging of this, opportunity muſt bring the man's firmneſs to the teſt. If the Patriarch had not been called upon to ſacrifice his child, we could never have pronounced on the extent of his obedience to the divine command; or reliance on the divine benevolence, and wiſdom.

The force of *Patriotiſm*, as of every other virtue, muſt thus be eſtimated by the conjuncture, in which it acts. Publick calamity ſhould preſs upon it, towards diſplaying its intrinſick ſtrength, and elaſticity:

* Ovid.

Hectora

Hectora quis noſſet, ſi felix Troja fuiſſet ?
Publica Virtutis per mala facta via eſt. *

It is then, only, we detect the ſpecious counterfeit, by its ſnapping beneath that burthen, which true Patriotiſm ſuſtains ; and circumſtance thus becomes the meaſurer of the genuineneſs of this quality ; as well as of its force. It enables us to diſtinguiſh between popular talents, and publick virtues.

It is principally in conſtitutions reſembling ours, that the energies of Patriotiſm can be ſo conſtantly employed, as that it ſhall become, ſtrictly, a permanent virtue. For that balance, which ſecures the proſperity of the country, being expoſed to almoſt continual invaſion, from the ſeveral intereſts which it controls ; a continual ſource of exertion is furniſhed to the Patriot. Beſides, in ſuch a conſtitution, the virtue is ſown ſo widely, that Patriotiſm may ſpring up in every quarter of the nation. We may have a patriot King, a patriot Noble, or one from amongſt the maſs of people.

The nature of our government produces alſo another conſequence : viz. that the Patriot may at different times, purſue oppoſite meaſures, without being inconſiſtent. The preſervation of balance being the object, there is nothing contradictory in flinging his weight alternately into either ſcale, according to the ſide, on which equilibrium is diſturbed.

* Ovid.

Yet,

Yet, as, in the common courſe of things, it more frequently happens that this balance is unſettled by the encroachment of the eſtabliſhed powers in a State, than by any ſudden irruption of the peoples violence, Patriotiſm becomes, moſt naturally a virtue of popular growth: oppoſing its boldneſs to the manœuvres of the few; and rearing its head, to protect the multitude againſt their rulers.

And this is ſo true, that, though I have hitherto held the ſtation which became me; and thrown any weight which I poſſeſſed, into the ſcale that ſeemed to riſe, yet now, when the criſis that engroſſed me is no more, and the publick delirium nearly at an end, I feel as if I was not in my place; and for this, amongſt other reaſons, I lay down my pen.

My attention to my own intereſts, as the ſubject of a balanced government, engaged me to ſuccour Ariſtocracy in its late diſtreſs; and perhaps a ſentiment of generoſity ſerved to heighten my inclination. The Patriot is fond to enroll himſelf with the weaker party; and this diſpoſition in him we very principally admire: (for what qualities are more amiable than benevolence, and fortitude?) Indeed this conduct ſuits completely with his duties: for his taſk is to reſiſt oppreſſion from every quarter; and it is not the feeble who are likely to oppreſs.

The multitude having lately attempted to tyrannize, I was called on, under the general principles

ciples of patriotiſm, to aſſert the cauſe of eſtabliſhed government; and inculcate rather the duty of loyalty, than that right of reſiſtance, which the Nation poſſeſſes; but in exerciſing which, they ſeemed intent on anticipating grievance; and forgot that this right gives only a moral elaſticity, which lurks unnoticed, till an attempt is made to cruſh the body that poſſeſs it.

Yet, in caſting my eye through the foregoing papers, I do not find that the criſis betrayed me into any improper partialities; or that I have haſtily thrown into the ariſtocratick ſcale, any arguments which might enable to diſturb the balance, on that ſide: on the contrary, theſe eſſays have an evident tendency, as well to check the uſurpations, as to vindicate the rights, of thoſe appointed for our governors. The only effect of the late conjuncture on this book—regards the ſelection of matters for diſcuſſion. I perhaps avoided enforcing ſuch abſtract principles, as ſeditious violence would be ready to miſapply. Yet in every inſtance, where ſuppreſſion appeared dangerous to the principles, and foundations, of our liberties, I have entered boldly on diſcuſſion; and my ſecond number atteſts my readineſs to become an advocate for the claims of the People.

But ſuch popular frenzy, as the late, being rare, perhaps my duties, as a Patriot, took an unuſual turn. The fever is now abated; and my ſervices ſeeming needleſs, I for the preſent lay down my pen. If I ſhould continue writing, yet it is poſſible that the nature of my duties might ſoon change;

change; and the multitude require rather to be foſtered, than reſtrained: to be protected from the violence of others: not their own. The populace are liable to theſe tranſitions: they are apt to ſink from delirium into lethargy. "Hæc natura "multitudinis eſt: *aut ſervit humiliter; aut ſu-* "*perbe dominatur:* libertatem, *quæ media eſt,* "nec ſpernere modice, nec habere ſciunt." * and the hiſtorian thus proceeds: "et non fermé de- "ſunt irarum indulgentes miniſtri, qui avidos, "atque *intemperantes plebeiorum animos*, ad ſan- "guinem, et cœdes irritent." † To check the progreſs of theſe *miniſters of wrath*; before they ſhall have ſteep'd the peoples hands in blood, is the taſk of Patriotiſm, in ſuch conjunctures as the late one: a taſk, of which the fulfillance, ſufficiently honourable to any man, is perhaps particularly ſo to one, who himſelf of the maſs of people, has no ariſtocratick intereſts to defend againſt them; nor any dependance on great men, which might engage him to be *their* champion; to one, ſufficiently obſcure, and perhaps not wholly unambitious; and who, if he ſhewed talent, in teaching the multitude their duties, (in the performance of which mens' true

* Liv. hiſt. lib. 24. c. 25.

† The whole paſſage may be thus rendered into Engliſh:—"Such is the nature of the multitude. They are "either abjectly ſubmiſſive, or haughtily domineering. "True freedom, which lies midway, between ſervility, and "domination, they know not to reſpect; nor to preſerve." —"Nor are there wanting perſons, who will miniſter to "their exceſſes; and inſtead of checking the eager, and in- "temperate ſpirit of the populace, are ready to inſtigate "them to maſſacre, and blood."

intereſts conſiſt, ever:) muſt know that by applying this, to gratifying their proud wiſhes, and aſſerting their wild pretenſions, he would have better conſulted his popularity, and aggrandiſement.

Can we doubt this?—When the vileſt traſh written on the popular ſide, finds its readers, and admirers: goes through repeated editions: making the printers fortune; and decking the pert author in a ſort of counterfeit reputation.

This being the caſe, I am ſurprized that pages of ſuch loyal tendency as mine, ſhould ſurvive the climacterick of a firſt edition; nor do I know whether to admire the courage, or blame the temerity of the publiſher; in venturing to put out a ſecond: and perhaps it is rather with a view to his profit, than to my fame, that I wiſh ſucceſs to his undertaking.

For, independent of thoſe conſolatory arguments, which are ſupplied by the ſucceſs of paltry writers; and which, teaching that renown is not the teſt of merit, may be ſuggeſted by diſappointment;—but are adopted by reflection; I, for my part, can ſee nothing, in literary obſcurity, that is terrific; and conceive that a little uſe would completely reconcile, nay even, perhaps, attach me to it;—in ſo much that I ſhould ſhrink from the glare of eminent reputation.

As,

As, quencht in ſhades, tho' firſt th' unpractic'd
eye
Round its dim cell, no guiding ray can ſpy,
Glimmering, ere long, a faint, uncertain light
Lifts the imperfect objects into ſight:
Ev'n then the gloomy maſs, yet half unſeen,
Wears, to the ſtartled view, a threat'ning mien:
'Till, by degrees, th' unfiniſh'd outline grows;
And thick, contraſting ſhadows—FORM diſcloſe:
The eye, each moment, ſome new ſhape deſcries:
Sees monſtrous blots improve to ſymmetries;
And uſed to huſband, thus, its ſcanty ray,
Shrinks, dazzled, from the glittering ſhafts of Day.

FINIS.